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THE LIFE AND CORRESPONDENCE OF MAJOR CARTWRIGHT

Edited By His Niece

F. D. Cartwright

TWO VOLUMES

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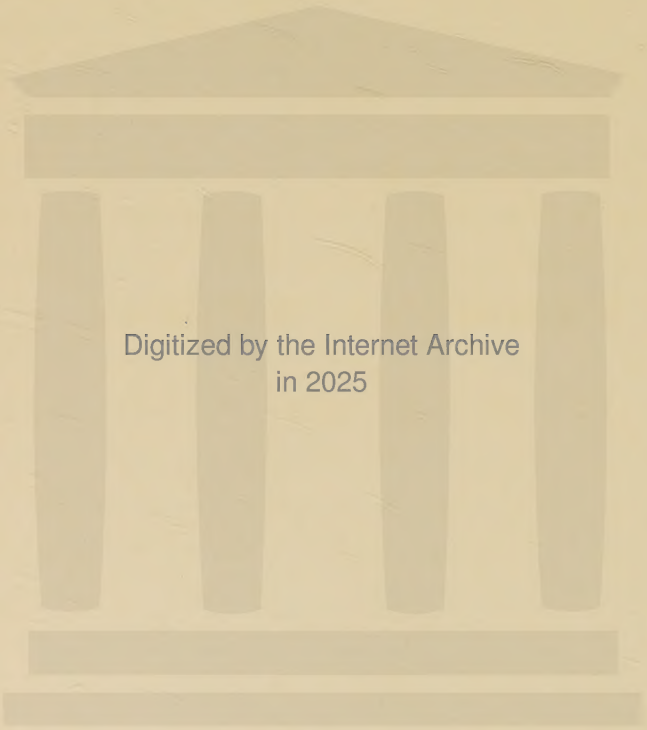
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THE LIFE AND CORRESPONDENCE OF MAJOR CARTWRIGHT

VOLUME II

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[1826]

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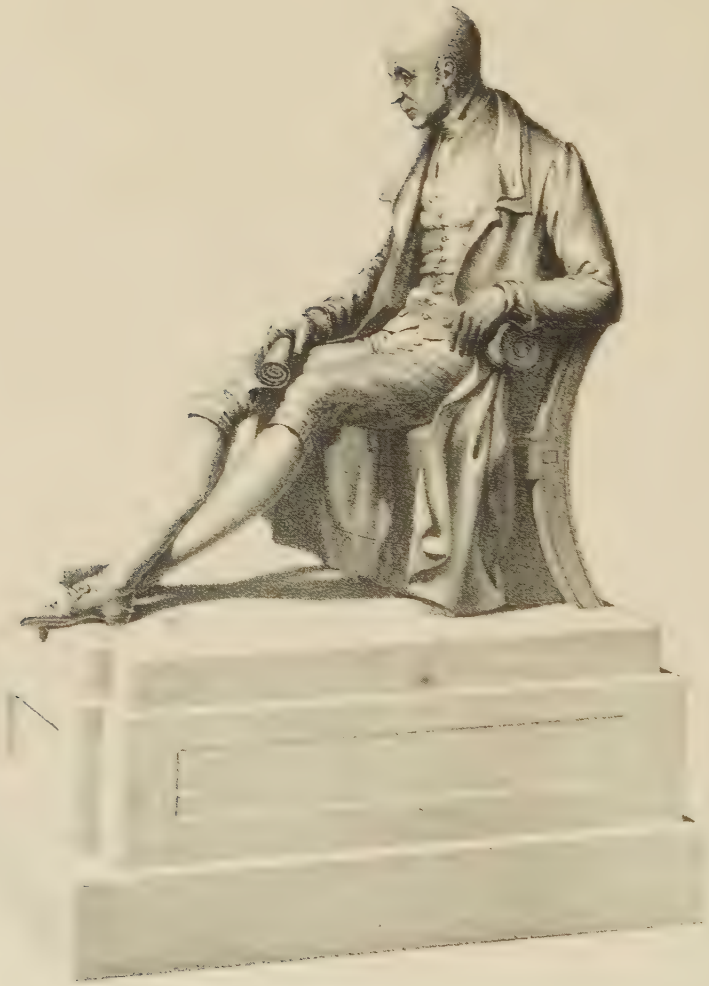

Design Presented to the Committee
for
MAJOR CARTWRIGHT'S MONUMENT.

By P. MACDOWELL *Sculptor.*

Drawn on Stone by T. Dighton. Printed by C. Hullmandel.

THE

LIFE

AND

CORRESPONDENCE

OF

MAJOR CARTWRIGHT.

EDITED BY HIS NIECE,

F. D. CARTWRIGHT.

"He was one whose enlightened mind and profound constitutional knowledge placed him in the highest rank of public character, and whose purity of principle and consistency of conduct through life commanded the most respectful attention to his opinions."

FOX, IN A SPEECH ON PRESENTING MAJOR CARTWRIGHT'S PETITION IN 1795.

"Nihil æquè ac Libertatem hausit: Civis, Senator, Maritus, Gener, Amicus, cunctis vitæ officiis æquabilis, opum contemptor, recti pervicax, constans adversùs metus."

TACIT. HIST.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. II.

LONDON:

HENRY COLBURN, NEW BURLINGTON-STREET.

1826.

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LIFE AND CORRESPONDENCE

OF

MAJOR CARTWRIGHT.

Of the transactions of the year 1811, as far as they related to the subject of this memoir, some extracts from his extensive correspondence will give the best account.

" TO THE HON. T. BRAND.

" 2d March, 1811.

" DEAR SIR,

" You would find by my card, that I had done myself the honour to call on you yesterday.

" My object was to inform you how far matters are in train towards a public dinner-meeting in the metropolis this spring, of the friends to a constitutional reform of parliament.

" In consequence of the part I took two years ago in promoting, under very discouraging circumstances, the last dinner-meeting of this kind, I was applied to by most respectable parties five or six months ago to assist again ; but it was not till

lately I thought the season ripe for the thing being accomplished with great effect on public opinion.

" One mode of proceeding having for a short time engaged attention and been relinquished, it has been since judged that the best course will be, for a select meeting, at the invitation of two or three proper persons, to be in the first instance held; and in a mode which to all classes should on the face of it be unexceptional.

" It hereupon occurred to me, that for the advantage of the cause, no persons could more properly convene such select meeting than yourself, Mr. Coke, and Sir Francis Burdett in conjunction. In pursuance of this idea, and for the furtherance of the object, I made the draught of a form for such invitation, and a list to be subjoined of more than 150 persons to be invited: it was with a view of having your sentiments on these steps, and to know your mind as to making one of the conveners, I yesterday waited on you in the Albany.

" What I have suggested met with the readiest concurrence of Sir Francis Burdett, and by last night's post I wrote very fully to Mr. Coke.

" That no time might be lost, now that the public mind is thought to be in a very excellent tone, the draught above-mentioned, with a list of persons to be invited, has been put in the press, and I expect a proof for correction this afternoon.

" Should you approve of being one of the conveners, there will be time for considering any

amendment of the draught, or any addition to the list which you may suggest; and I doubt not that Mr. Coke, being in Norfolk, will think it quite sufficient that yourself and Sir Francis should adjust such matters.

"The draught is as follows:

'SIR,

'You are requested to attend a select meeting of friends to a constitutional reform in Parliament, at the Crown and Anchor Tavern, London, on, &c. &c. to consider of arrangements for holding a public dinner-meeting in the metropolis, under the auspices of a numerous body of stewards from all parts of the United Kingdom; in order that at such dinner-meeting the best means of promoting a measure equally essential to the independence of the Crown and the liberties of the people, may be taken into consideration.'

"The undermentioned noblemen and gentlemen are invited to the select meeting; namely—

[Here follow the names of a dozen peers, above sixty members of the House of Commons, and other friends of reform, to the amount in all of about 160.]

"It is supposed that three weeks' notice will be expedient.

"I understood Sir Francis Burdett was not likely to be in the House last night, or, in case of meeting you, he would of course have mentioned

this matter to you himself; although he was not in possession of the draught or the list. Hoping to be early favoured with your sentiments and resolution in this case, I have the honour," &c.

To his application respecting this meeting, he received from Sir Philip Francis the following letter:—

"TO J. CARTWRIGHT, ESQ.

"2d of April, 1811.

"DEAR SIR,

"My resolution on the subject of your kind letter received yesterday, was founded on experience, and taken with deliberation. I cannot alter it. You are the only person to whom it would be unbecoming in me to say, that I am not young enough to embark again in what I believe to be a hopeless enterprise. I doubt the actual existence of an English public for any great national purpose; and, if it exists, I am not its debtor. As far as I can judge, the mass of the English population is inert. The country has lost its passions, and is not fit for action. This general opinion is open to exceptions, and you are one of them.

"I have the honour to be, with sincere esteem,

"Dear Sir,

"Your most obedient humble servant,

"P. FRANCIS."

" TO THE REV. CHRISTOPHER WYVILL.

" 15th April, 1811.

" The annexed, I trust, will shew you, not only that the cause of reform is not dead, nor its friends asleep ; but that they have no other idea of promoting it, than by endeavouring to call forth public opinion on the subject. The public opinion of which I speak must not be merely that of the metropolis, but of the nation at large.

" On the face of this paper you will see, that those with whom the movement originated could not wish otherwise than that the far more numerous body from whom they differ in opinion on the extent to which reform ought to be attempted, to make it either practicable or beneficial, should have as much credit as they should choose to claim or desire.—Every thing short of an *extinguisher* was in fact hereby offered to be put into their hands. Some of the most considerable whigs, and those most relied on for sincerity were resorted to, for being *conveners of this select meeting*. They seemed as shy as if asked to handle a serpent. The same disinclination has for some years, many indeed, been manifest ; of which I have abundant proofs. By their good wills, they would neither stir themselves, nor have others do it. With a view to conciliation and union, particular pains had been taken to bring together Mr. Brand and Sir Francis Burdett, who, from their respective positions in Parliament, were to be considered as representing

the two divisions of reformers; and I was highly gratified when I found Mr. Brand had consented to such a meeting.

"We have now had two of those meetings; and a report of the proceedings I hope to send you by Monday's post. I have, however, here to say, that Sir Francis Burdett, whatever may be thought of him as disposed to counsels of violence, has uniformly shown the greatest anxiety for a union of all reformers— and that those who differ from him on the point of extent should take a lead, and try their own systems. He is ready and desirous to follow; all he desires is, that something rational shall be honestly attempted, and that experience shall show what is practically best. I speak from a knowledge of facts of which I have repeatedly been a witness. Considering a reform, however, of the House of Commons a *sine qua non*, he never will, I am persuaded, consent to abandon that course; as too many others seem, by their aversion to every thing thereto tending, to have made up their minds to do. By the way, we shall soon have in print—by the exertions of two persons who were in the gallery, and their importunities with the baronet, to correct their reports—the speech he delivered on Lord Folkstone's motion respecting *informations ex officio*, which I am told by one of the parties, was very masterly, and showed a profound knowledge. In the newspaper this speech was murdered.

"At our last meeting, I endeavoured to place our

situation in what I conceive to be its true light; and to this effect. A vast majority of the House of Commons is made up of a combination of factions great and small, and of adventurers who bought their way in at rotten boroughs. All these stand on interests completely hostile to the rights and liberties of the nation. From a conspicuous feature, this whole combination we style the BOROUGH FACTION, although made up of rival parties who have competition and hostility among themselves; yet whenever serious reform of the system is attempted, the whole combine, as one man, to resist innovation on that system.

"Here then, considering that those who have the purse of the nation at their command, and the efficient House of Parliament in their hands, are all-powerful, we behold a despotism, and a despotism of the very worst description. This view of our case is full of instruction. How is a despotism to be *reformed?* this is the point we have to consider. We are to remember that the despotism being legislative, it must be the very *agent in its own reformation.* Here I turned to Prussia or old Frederick, and to France under Napoleon. Would either have listened to patriots, desiring them to take a step in reformation, that is, in abridging their own power; *this year*, as a prelude to another step *next year*, and so on, till liberty should be restored? No; death or a dungeon would have instantly stopped the career of such patriots.

"Then, returning to England, I observed that our despotism, in consequence of the universal feeling of rights and liberties, and in short of *public opinion*, was obliged to do its work in a different way. Instead of striking off the head of a Brand or a Burdett, it simply outvoted them, which answered every purpose; but although these despotisms were of different descriptions, they were of the same *character:* I then appealed to all history for an instance in which an inveterate despotism had voluntarily reformed itself.

"What say the examples of our ancestors? It was a great national effort, headed by the barons, that first subdued the mind of the despot, John, and extorted, from his *fear*, MAGNA CHARTA.

"Again; it was a similar effort, inspiring the panic-stricken tyrant James with fear, which caused his flight, and gave us the BILL OF RIGHTS.

"And just so it is fear alone, that, from the *borough-faction*, can ever extort a PARLIAMENTARY REFORM; or, in other words, a RESTORATION OF THE CONSTITUTION.

"But those who have given into the notion of moderate reform, have been misled by a sort of instinctive feeling of the truth of the picture I have drawn, without sufficiently examining the grounds of that feeling. Aware that the putting down of a despotism by one effort must make the despot angry, hence, without due reflection, they have deprecated radical reform as tending to civil war, and to the hazard of losing every thing by

convulsion. No: here is radical error. Nothing can be done but by public opinion. When that shall be sufficiently powerful, the borough-faction, put in fear, will vote for radical reform with as much peaceable acquiescence as John signed Magna Charta.

"In respect of raising up a sufficient strength in PUBLIC OPINION, the radical reformers hold up to the nation *the constitution itself*, in all its simplicity of excellence. The moderate reformers hold up a something else of their own fabrication or fancy, complex, and, in their own shewing, very imperfect. The qualities of truth and justice, as emanations from the divine mind, as well as the constitution of human nature and reason, forbid, in my humble judgment, the possibility of ever calling forth any thing like national unanimity on the latter ground, or inspiring that animation and enthusiasm in the public necessary for a parliamentary reform; or, in other words, putting down the despotism of the borough-faction, and restoring the constitution.

"It is no departure from this conviction that induces me to cultivate union with the moderate reformers. Let us co-operate; let us reason with each other; let us promote discussion: in short, let us harmoniously yield each to the other, as far as possible, without a desertion of principle. If they, in public meetings of the people, cannot agree to the plans and measures we think must be finally adopted in Parliament, to restore our liber-

ties; nor we, in such meetings, can concur in plans and measures we disapprove; we still can agree in the great principle, that reform is necessary for salvation of the state: on this ground such of us as have met and conferred, have, in fact, united. Let time bring us and the nation, in all points, to one mind! That, to the Almighty Disposer of men and nations, is my fervent prayer."

To this letter Mr. Wyvill replied, by requesting the writer to accept his most cordial thanks for his exertions in promoting union among the different bodies of reformers, and by requesting that his name might be added to the list of stewards.

On the 10th of June the proposed dinner* took place at the Freemasons' Tavern, "for taking into consideration the best means of promoting a measure equally essential to the independence of the crown and the liberties of the people."

"We then found," says Major Cartwright, in his letters to the Marquis of Tavistock, p. 15, "that the seed of 1809 was not unprofitably sown. The number of stewards was 265; and might, if the whigs had heartily joined in the measure, as easily have been a thousand."

In the same month, at a meeting of the committee of friends of Parliamentary reform, Sir John Throgmorton in the chair, it was resolved, "that a society be formed of friends to Parliamentary

* For the names of the stewards, see Appendix, No. XIII.

reform." This society afterwards gave rise to "The Union"; and, as will be seen hereafter, became an object of deep interest to the venerable reformer.

On the 23d of September, 1811, he was called on to perform a painful duty at the sessions-house, Clerkenwell. It has been already mentioned, that Major Cartwright was very unguarded in receiving, without introduction or recommendation, any stranger who asked to be admitted to him. In consequence of this inadvertency, a person was suffered to introduce himself as the clergyman of Hertford; and in that character obtained two pounds from him, for the alleged purpose of assisting a distressed widow, who had been turned out of her house by her landlord*. Major Cartwright soon after discovered the imposture, and was induced to prosecute, in consequence of private intelligence, that in so doing, he might in the end essentially benefit the unfortunate offender, who was the eldest son of a respectable clergyman, and

* This gave rise, some years afterwards, to a humorous circumstance, which strongly evinces the attachment with which Major Cartwright inspired the members of his family. The eldest son of his nephew, the Rev. E. Cartwright, when eight or nine years of age, was a frequent visitor at his house; and one day, being missing, was sought for, and discovered walking backwards and forwards near the door of his uncle's study, shouldering an old blunderbuss, which, to avoid accident, had been deprived of its lock. On being asked the occasion of this military appearance, he replied, that an odd looking stranger was with his uncle, and fearing he might prove another swindler, he thought it advisable to be at hand, to assist him if attacked.

who had fallen into bad habits, and into company of the worst description, and who, while he remained in this country, had little chance of ever becoming a better member of society.

Major Cartwright accordingly appeared against him; and though the young man endeavoured, by every means in his power, to defend himself by calumniating his prosecutor, the case was considered so clear by the jury, that, without the smallest hesitation, a verdict of Guilty was returned, and he was sentenced to seven years' transportation*.

A few months before his death, Major Cartwright experienced a degree of satisfaction which will be easily appreciated by minds of equal benevolence, in receiving from the worthy father of this young man an assurance that his son had conducted himself respectably from the period of his transportation, and had, in the country to which he was exiled, redeemed the character he lost in his own.

In October he sent the following letter to Sir Samuel Romilly:

"James Street, 1st October, 1811.

"DEAR SIR,

"I have thought it due to you, to apprize you of a deputation which is appointed to wait on you, and the object of it.

"By the inclosed you will see that a beginning

* See Edinburgh Annual Register for 1811, Part II. p. 167.

has been made towards a Middlesex election, propitious to public freedom.

"The Middlesex Freeholders' Club have thought it due to the constitution, as well as to their own consistency, to make such an explicit declaration of their opinion touching Parliamentary reform, as comes within their conception of the people's rights; and they, of course, are anxious that the representatives of their county should be chosen from among men holding, in a matter so infinitely important, the same opinions with themselves.

"It made likewise a part of their consideration, that their declaration may have a good effect, in the way of example to other electors, besides promoting discussion, which is ever favourable to political liberty.

"To Sir Samuel Romilly, more, I believe, than to any other man of the present day, the parties would gladly have dispensed with asking a specific declaration of opinion, as a ground for entering into a positive resolution of proposing him; but considering that, in times like the present, to propose to their county the election of a particular man, involves in it a serious responsibility, and that they ought to be able to state, that they have not so done on mere presumption, but on full knowledge of his holding correct opinions on points essential to the constitution.

"And this line of conduct seems the more advisable, when the declaration is to manifest how the party making it is to be classed; that is, as a

real and rational reformist, or as one of those who style themselves moderate reformists; for under the respective leaders of these classes the mass of people seem ripe for arranging themselves.

"Nothing having been settled as to the mode of making the wished-for declaration, my own idea of the matter is, that the most eligible way would be, not to give an individual signature, but one in common among several; and I shall make it my business to collect some, of persons every way respectable, in readiness for such a purpose.

"In the desperate situation in which public liberty stands, my own judgment tells me, that, by making an honest and manly appeal to public reason and public spirit, we hazard nothing. It cannot make things worse. It may bring salvation.

"The power of truth, although proverbial, does not prevent its lying, sometimes for ages, dormant; while at critical periods, and issuing from the lips of men revered for their virtue and wisdom, its influence is rapid and resistless. We seem to be in a political crisis favourable to such an influence.

"After a thirty years' discussion in representation, sound argument must ever be at hand for putting down shallow sophistry or unprincipled cavil; and, as the public is not likely to prefer a shadow to a substance, or ignorance to knowledge, I am perfectly at ease on the part likely to be taken by the mass of the nation, between the classes of reformists I have already named.

" Although one of the deputation appointed to wait on you, I may very possibly be out of the way at the proper time, as I am now only detained in town by a life-boat experiment, and expect, in a week or less, to go into the North for two months or more. With the greatest respect and esteem,

" I remain, Dear Sir,

" Truly your's,

" J. CARTWRIGHT."

" SIR S ROMILLY."

" TO SENOR ARGUELLES.

" 10 October, 1811.

" SIR,

" Apprehensive that a difference of sentiment between natives of Old Spain and Spaniards of the American Colonies may, possibly, at the present crisis, produce effects inconvenient to both, as well as adverse to the cause of that general liberty of mankind which ought to be the wish of virtuous men, and will be the wish of every man truly wise, I have the honour to present you a copy of my first political essay, ' American Independence,' of which I have only one other copy, this having returned into my hands by the death of a relation, to whom at its first appearance, in 1774, it had been presented.

" The principles therein laid down, may tend to promote peace and friendship, prosperity and happiness, between the Spaniards of the two hemispheres.

" Sincerely hoping that Spain in respect of the American Colonies, will prove more enlightened than was the case with my own country, and praying God for the desired issue,

" I have the honour to remain, &c.

" JOHN CARTWRIGHT."

The experiment alluded to in his letter to Sir Samuel Romilly, related to a contrivance suggested by Captain Cartwright of Nottingham, for making any boat answer the purpose of a life boat.

It consisted of a portable apparatus formed of bladders and corks, so arranged as to be easily attached to the sides of a ship's boat in case of emergency, and, by affording the greatest possible degree of buoyancy, enabled it to support an extraordinary weight.

During the business attendant upon this project, Captain Cartwright was at Major Cartwright's house in Westminster, and being at that time very infirm from the effects of severe rheumatism, he found in his more active brother a willing and useful coadjutor.

The experiment was tried on the 7th of October immediately below Blackfriars Bridge, and the apparatus was attached to a six-oared cutter belonging to the Cabalva East Indiaman, Captain Birch.

It appeared that with twenty-three men on board all standing on her thwarts, and eight hundred-weight of iron in the boat, which was also

crowded with sail, the thwarts were an inch above water, so that the weight actually sustained must have been equivalent to at least forty-five men properly stowed for preserving life in case of a wreck.

After this business was concluded, Major Cartwright accompanied his family on some visits into the counties of Nottingham, Derby, and Leicester, where his feeling mind was deeply wounded by the distress which prevailed throughout those districts, the apparent apathy with which that distress was, except in a few instances, contemplated, and the consequent excesses into which misery and starvation too frequently led the misguided manufacturers.

The following letter to Lord Holland will shew in what light he regarded these disturbances, and the means he was anxious to adopt for their suppression :

"TO THE RIGHT HON. LORD HOLLAND.

"Allestree, near Derby, 15th Dec. 1811.

"MY DEAR LORD,

"As Recorder of Nottingham, and not less as a decided friend of freedom and peace, I inclose you a Requisition which I yesterday morning drew up, and, as a burgess, signed.

"On entering the town on Friday, I learned that a very full meeting of the magistrates of the county were consulting in their hall, on the disturbed state of the vicinity; and on asking one of them, after the meeting broke up, what was the

result, he answered it was a secret. Another, however, informed me, that application was to be made for police officers, and for rewards for informations.

" Hitherto no measures indicating a feeling for the sufferings of men almost in a state of famine, or tending to give complaint a proper tone and right direction, or affording the slightest hope of relief, have I heard of.

" The town and neighbourhood are full of soldiers; and I was credibly informed that a general officer had given it as his opinion, that the county would not be kept quiet, until it should be put under MILITARY LAW. I did not want to hear of such a declaration from the lips of a general officer, to feel in the highest degree shocked whenever I see the law carried into execution by *the sword of a standing army*, as, on every such occasion, the constitution is stabbed to the vitals; and stabbed unnecessarily; for he must be shallow in constitutional knowledge, who does not know that there is an *English* mode of preserving public tranquillity infinitely superior in efficacy to this *Continental* practice; a mode in perfect unison with liberty, as this is the very essence of despotism.

" Where for executing the law, the ultimate resort is to the sword of a standing mercenary army, it is complete evidence that a military despotism actually exists; and if the nobility and gentry of once free England shall witness it with patience and apathy, it must ere long be as firmly rivetted,

and as much the established character of the English Government, as it is of that of Turkey.

" My stay at Nottingham yesterday only allowed of my seeing two gentlemen who wholly concur with me in principle, and are ready to do so in act, provided a reasonable number of respectable persons will do the same; but I lament to observe, that since the loss of that excellent man, George Walker, Nottingham seems with him to have lost somewhat of its decision of character, and that a leader, authoritative from wisdom, virtue and energy, is wanting.

" But, my Lord, should the Requisition I have left at Nottingham meet with your Lordship's approbation, and I were allowed to say so, I am fully persuaded it would remove all hesitation; for the best informed persons are convinced, that the enemies of liberty would not venture to show themselves at a public meeting, where, in their opinion, any thing truly constitutional would be carried with unanimity and acclamation.

" Besides the cause of hesitation at Nottingham which I have already explained, arising from personal diffidence in men unused to take a lead, there is another which they do not even attempt to conceal, in a tincture of despondency, from observing how few among the great are ready to support the people in efforts for restoring the constitution in any particular, or at any time.

" And notwithstanding it was remarked in a select company of the late and present mayor with

a few others, about three weeks ago, that it was an expressed general wish of your lordship with which they were acquainted, that the people when aggrieved would always come forward with their complaints and petitions, yet their diffidence, and this tincture of despondency, still seem to prevail; and but too probably will not be shaken off, unless they shall be encouraged by a specific declaration on the part of your lordship, on whose opinions they set a high value, that the present is a proper occasion for making an effort.

"I called yesterday twice with the Requisition on the town-clerk, Mr. Coldham, but not finding him at home, I left it at his house inclosed in a note.

"It was my endeavour so to make the Requisition speak for itself as to its objects; and so to inculcate what I hold to be a self-evident truth, namely, that secure peace must be bottomed on a restoration of the constitution, or it cannot be attained; as well as that if an insecure one be agreed to, it must, like the last, prove an empty bubble.

"It is only by exhibiting our country to the eye of Napoleon as absolutely impregnable, by unanimity and enthusiasm in its defence, that he will grant any other peace, than such a one as should accelerate our downfal. In peace he would rapidly become a naval power of the first magnitude; while, at the same time, England, by the degrading concessions she must make, *if not invulnerable*, and by reducing through necessity her martial es-

tablishment, and no less by her continuing a prey to internal corruptions, generating extreme disunion and disgust, amounting, in a great proportion of her physical strength, to a settled hatred of their rulers, must be well prepared for subjugation.

"A population who hate their rulers, for withholding from them their rights and liberties, by which they are exposed to the curse of *taxation without representation*, are but too well prepared for the purposes of an invader. With much respect,

"I have the honour to be, &c.

"J. CARTWRIGHT."

On the 19th of December, 1811, Major Cartwright addressed a letter to a respectable framework knitter, whom he supposed to have considerable influence over the working manufacturers, which was inserted in the Nottingham Review. In this letter he urged them in the most forcible manner to consider the wickedness, folly and impolicy of their conduct in wantonly destroying the property of others, showing them that by so doing instead of relieving they would aggravate their distresses, and do their worst enemies a singular pleasure. "This letter", to use his own words in another letter addressed to Lord Holland, "was written to a person of good character in a humble situation, with a hope of its contributing, perhaps as efficaciously as the sword, to bring back the deluded and the criminal into the path of duty."

He had the satisfaction of finding that this hope

was not disappointed; the letter was published and circulated gratis all over the disturbed districts, and had a salutary effect on the minds of the misguided population.

On the 24th February, 1812, Major Cartwright thus writes to Lord Fingal:

"In the recent decision at Carlton House, the Catholics of Ireland must anticipate the fate of their petition. That event will also, I trust, instruct them in a great truth, which bodies of the people, by a sort of fatality, appear, on all occasions of *grievance*, to overlook; namely, that there can be no sure redress of political WRONGS until the people shall have recovered their political RIGHTS. All else, even the best that can arise from superficial and partial exertions, will in the end fail; and the condition of the people, now and then ameliorated in trifles for a while, will, in the main, grow worse and worse; until they shall from Dingle to Dover, from Portland to the Orkneys, with one voice demand a real and duly proportioned representation, and Parliaments of a constitutional duration.

"Where are now the Irish Volunteers of 1788?*

* "It was impossible to contemplate and enjoy the cheering dawn of unsuspicious intercourse which then diffused its reviving light over this island, without abhorrence of that debasing policy which when the sword was sheathed and the statute-book slumbered, sullenly filled the place of both."

* * * * * * *

"The content, the satisfaction, that sat on every face, and I

Where Ireland's independent Parliament? Where her very name as a State?

"Your Lordship and your principal supporters may have acted on notions of expediency, in not mixing a superior question with your claim to an equal admissibility to command offices and emoluments with your protestant brethren; but you now see the consequence.

"The 'oligarchy', the borough-faction, usurping, as I conceive, more than nine-tenths of the seats in the House of Commons, is a despotism. A despotism is not to be talked out of its power, nor will it willingly admit new sharers of its wealth. For successfully resisting a despotism, and re-instating national liberty, there is but one mode; an appeal to that constitution, by which the nation has consented to be governed; and then with the unanimity which such appeal is likely to generate, to demand the rights essential to all freedom, whether religious or civil.

"A great national movement for any thing short of this, is unworthy of Ireland. Let her then, my Lord, act as political virtue and wisdom dictate. Let her patriots, availing themselves of the temper she is in, give a right direction to her energies, in petitions from every county, city and town for a Reform of Parliament.

"The example may touch with shame and excite the emulation of the degenerate traders of Eng-

may add the moral improvement that formed one of the purest sources of that satisfaction, cannot be effaced from the memory."
Hardy's Life of Lord Charlemont, Vol. I. p. 385.

land and Scotland; who are very slow to discover that their loss of trade is a consequence of their loss of liberty. If they can be set right by the sense and spirit of Ireland; petitions signed by millions, demanding a restoration of stolen rights, would soon put down the despotism of that borough-faction under which the United Kingdom groans."

His Lordship's reply to this letter, couched in terms of high respect for the writer, was a declaration that he considered it his duty to confine himself solely to the subject of the Catholic claims.

We have already noticed the establishment of a club called the Union for Parliamentary Reform according to the Constitution; it need hardly be said that the subject of these memoirs was a zealous member of that club, the proceedings of which proved highly satisfactory to him *.

Another club for the same object had also been some time in contemplation, of which Mr. Northmore was the founder, and the first printed proposal for its institution appeared 1st of May, 1811, with sixteen names annexed. Its first public meeting took place at the Thatched House Tavern, 20th April, 1812, Walter Fawkes, Esq. in the chair. It was then

"*Resolved*—That a society be now instituted, which shall have for its object the securing to the people the free election of their Representatives in the Commons House of Parliament.

* See Appendix, No. XIV.

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"That such society be called the Hampden Club.

"That by the laws and statutes of this realm the subject has settled in him a fundamental right of property, and that he is not compelled to contribute any tax, or other charge, not set by common consent in Parliament.

"That according to Sir Edward Coke, the members of the House of Commons ought to be general inquisitors of the realm for the maintenance and execution of the laws, and for the redress of divers mischiefs and grievances.

"That according to the first statute of Westminster, anno 3 Edw. I. A. D. 1275, because electors ought to be free, no great man (haut homme), or other by force of arms, nor by malice, shall disturb any from making free election.

"That according to the celebrated declaration of King William for restoring the laws and liberties of England, article 18th, 'all elections of parliament men ought, to be free, to be made with an entire liberty, without any sort of force, or the requiring the electors to choose such persons as shall be named to them.'

"That according to the constitutional position of the late Lord Camden, 'Taxation and representation are inseparable.'

"And that Parliament should be of a continuance agreeable to the English constitution.

"*Resolved*—That it appears to the members of this club, that the present corrupt practice of the government of this country, &c. differs most widely

from the principles of its constitution. That this deviation from the fundamental laws of the land, and the want of identity which in this country ought to subsist between the representative and the represented, are in a great degree the cause of those evils under which this nation is suffering; and that, therefore, a reform of the representation in the Commons House of Parliament is alike necessary to the constitutional independence of the Crown, the liberties of the people, and the safety of the country.

"That the members of the Hampden Club pledge themselves to use every exertion in county meetings, and in all other meetings warranted by the constitution, in conjunction with their countrymen, to induce the House of Commons to take this important subject into their early and serious consideration, and to restore to the country her real constitution and ancient laws.

"That it is the determination of this Club to confine their resolutions and exertions strictly to the procuring a reform in the representation of the people." *

It was hinted to Major Cartwright that many persons of rank and influence who differed from him in political opinion, kept away from it because he was a member, and he instantly resolved for once on becoming a seceder.

* For the list of Members of the Hampden Club, see Appendix, No. XV.

This intention his friend Mr. Northmore combated in the following terms :

"MY DEAR SIR,

"Your favour is just received and I will not permit you for one moment to entertain any thoughts of quitting us, now that our difficulties are over, and we are firm upon our legs. They who would not join us before, are glad of an ostensible reason to excuse their timidity. They are just not worth having, and our published sentiments are their real terror. 'Reform and Cartwright' are synonymous, and must not be separated, and your friends are numerous and warm; they feel a confidence in your opinions that will not easily be shaken.

"I heartily wish your other society may succeed, and I shall be happy to give you every assistance in my power.

"Yours, dear Sir, &c.

"T. NORTHMORE."

"P. S. Your Ægis I presume is not now to be had."

Major Cartwright, however, executed his intentions on the 19th of June, 1812.

"TO THOMAS NORTHMORE, ESQ.

"MY DEAR SIR,

"The union for parliamentary reform, according to the constitution, a corps in which I am enrolled, being now embodied and entering on active

service, I have this day erased my name from the books of the Hampden, with this entry—" Withdrawn, not as a deserter but as a friend; with a hope of adding to the strength of the club; as in two letters to Mr. Northmore (19th of May and 19th of June) has been explained.'

" As secession must ever cause among our enemies reports of disunion, nothing but a hope of extending in reality union and strength, could induce me to recede, after having once joined your standard.

" If my presence kept out one reformist, that cause is now removed, while my duty is elsewhere done.

" Should you, however, after twelve months' experience, find the hope with which I take myself out of the way to be without foundation, and that my secession brings you no accession, I shall be ready to join your standard; that no man may think me capable of drawing back my foot a single step, after it has been any where advanced in the service of the Constitution, except for the real advancement of the cause.

" But in that case, it would be more agreeable to me, were the rulers of the club more strict than they appear to be, since it should seem to require the majority of a meeting for a candidate's exclusion; whereas, in my own case, I had rather it required only a single negative, particularly when I reflect on the ground of my present secession.

" I remain, dear Sir, very truly yours,

" JOHN CARTWRIGHT."

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" TO J. CARTWRIGHT, ESQ.

" 16 Orchard Street, June 20, 1812.

" MY DEAR SIR,

" I cannot forbear expressing my regret that you should have withdrawn your name from the Hampden, convinced as I am that if that institution fail of success, its failure will arise from causes over which your name can have no influence either direct or indirect. If ever there had been a time when any objection to your name had arisen in the breast of a few gentlemen, that time had passed by, and that objection had been removed; but it is not for me to dispute your superior judgment: I heartily wish you success in every undertaking, believing that such undertaking will always have for its object the freedom of man, and the welfare of the community.

" I remain, dear Sir, very sincerely yours,

" THOMAS NORTHMORE."

It does not appear that Major Cartwright's secession answered the purpose intended, or that his absence brought any increase of strength to the society.

He was therefore re-elected, at the desire of the club, on the 8th of May, in the following year, after twelve months' absence. This re-election was thus communicated to him by Mr. Montague Burgoyne:

"MY DEAR SIR,

"I am most happy to inform you that you are unanimously re-elected a member of the Hampden Club.

"Yours truly,

"MONTAGUE BURGOYNE."

On the back of this letter is written in Major Cartwright's hand-writing, "this prompt attention sensibly felt by J. C."

It will be seen in the following epistle, that in this year he published his Six Letters to the Marquis of Tavistock.

"TO THE REV. CHRISTOPHER WYVILL.

"May 21, 1812.

"DEAR SIR,

"I send you my series of letters to the Marquis of Tavistock. The debate on Mr. Brand's late motion was completely illustrative of the doctrine principally inculcated in them, as well as *in the comparison*. Indeed, considering the desperate condition of our country, the intermediate corruption of Parliament, and the extremely agitated and anxious state of the public mind, to propose any thing in the style of mere palliative, should now seem to be the dream of a sick man, whose energies were departed and intellects impaired.

"Every mere palliative must be complex; and therefore divested of that clearness and force, which can alone take firm possession of the public mind. In the three propositions which contain all

we want, 1st, Representation, co-extensive with direct taxation in the books of the collectors; 2dly, A fair distribution of that common right; and, 3dly, Parliaments of a constitutional duration, that is, not exceeding one year; we have a threefold object of extreme simplicity, containing, as I may say, the constitution, the whole constitution, and nothing but the constitution.

"We have recently seen, that any thing in the nature of a palliative expedient, excites, in the borough-faction, nothing but supreme contempt. And because *radical reform* would excite all their terrors, and all they dare do for beating it down, we must not, therefore, suppose, that it is imprudent. Were you ever in a storm at sea, and in the utmost peril of shipwreck on a lee-shore? If you have been, you would have learned that timidity was not the quality for saving a ship so circumstanced. I have had experience in this way: I have seen, that timidity, had it not been deterred by threats of rigorous punishment from acting on its own suggestions, would have produced destruction. The vessel of the State is now threatened with shipwreck. It is a courageous and inflexible adherence to the constitution, that can alone save it. This alone can call forth the energies of the nation in our support.

"I have recently had communication with persons connected with the disturbed districts, and who have influence there. For turning the discontents into a legal channel favourable to Parlia-

mentary Reform, they are anxious to have the advice and countenance of *our Society*.

"Is it not, therefore, extremely to be desired, that it may not fall back into non-existence, for want of its one hundred founders? Is it not to be desired, that it may be established, and enter on its course of utility as speedily as possible? Should it be instrumental in allaying the tempest of discontent, converting it into genuine patriotism, and giving irresistible strength to the cause of radical reform, how infinite the good it will produce!

"The formation of the Hampden Club will, doubtless, do much good; but its being a club, its nature, and its qualification (as for a seat in Parliament), forbid its being the real nucleus of a national union. It of a certainty is, and must continue to be, an exceptionable institution, in the eyes of a great part of the community; but when *our Society* shall be announced to the public, all friends of reform of every description will have a standard under which they can rally. Each institution will have an influence over the other, in favour, on one hand, of real constitutional liberty, and, on the other hand, in favour of temper and discretion.

"I understand that our secretary sent you, into the country, his *circular;* but as you may not have it to refer to, I send you a copy.

"With much esteem, I remain, dear Sir,

"Truly yours,

"JOHN CARTWRIGHT."

" Mr. Perry, editor of the Morning Chronicle, has urged me much to publish the letters to Lord Tavistock in a pamphlet. This I considered as a symptom of a favourable change in the minds of the party of which his paper is the known organ."

On the 5th of August in this year at a meeting of the inhabitant householders of Westminster, the following were among the resolutions moved by Major Cartwright, and seconded by Mr. Harris:

" *Resolved*—That the Chancellor of the Exchequer having taught us to expect, in addition to all the grievous taxes on income, an early tax on capital, it is expedient to distinguish between these modes of taxation.

" That, to tax income, is to take a proportion of the rents or profits of an estate: to tax capital, is to take away part of the estate itself.

" That a tax on capital, annually repeated, must shortly take away the whole of the estate.

" That between the effect of taxing capital, and the effect of confiscation, this meeting is not able to distinguish.

" That although the whole of men's estates may be taken away by arbitrary taxation, yet, as neither the land, nor its produce, nor other personal property, is thereby annihilated, so the real effect of the system is, to transfer all property, real and personal, from the right owners to those who, pos-

sessing a power of arbitrary taxation, can take away that property at their pleasure.

"That the oligarchy, which, by usurping a great majority of the seats in the House of Commons, are become masters of all property, and can take it away at their pleasure, are, by the same means, become masters of the Crown and its Exchequer.

"That, as the House of Commons exercises the authority of a court of judicature, with exclusive jurisdiction over whatever relates to the elective and legislative rights of the people, so as no redress of any injury, touching the same, can be elsewhere obtained; this meeting, on behalf of themselves and the nation at large, will present to that House a 'Petition of Rights', claiming representation co-extensive with direct taxation, in annual Parliaments, according to the constitution; and demanding that 'justice be neither denied nor delayed', according to Magna Charta."

"TO MR. KNIGHT.

"August 8th, 1812.

"SIR,

"Understanding from a Lancashire gentleman, that your character is proof against the malicious insinuations of suspected persons, and considering you as suffering in a cause which, at this time, in this country, is the common cause of us all, and, of all earthly causes, that which most deserves the

exertions of good men, I take the liberty of writing to you.

" Presuming that no magistrate could be so rash as to commit you and your companions, thirty-seven in number, to a gaol, for merely meeting to consider of a petition to Parliament for a reform in our representation, unless some informer has made oath, that something criminal had been said or done at your meeting; I incline to imagine, that some evidence of that kind is to be brought against you and them. It has, I find, been reported, that the charge is, that of an unlawful oath having been administered among you.

" Considering the great improbability that parliamentary reformists should resort to any thing so unnecessary to their purpose, and which could only tend to defeat it, my present persuasion is, that if any such accusation were made, it was the act of a hired informer, who was ready to swear any thing most agreeable to those who employed him.

" If this were the case, there may possibly be some difficulty in establishing a complete demonstration of your innocence, even although your jury, not believing your accusers, should acquit you; but if those accusers happen to be persons of very bad character, and their story should not be well put together, your acquittal may be of a very triumphant nature.

" As I learn that, for the most part, your companions in suffering are persons in circumstances

not opulent, I have written to my friend Mr. Brougham, whose parliamentary exertions obtained a revocation of the orders in council so prejudicial to the manufacturing interest, and who is a barrister on your circuit, to interest him in your cause, and to request he will communicate with you in particular early on his arrival at Lancaster, notwithstanding you may perhaps have already retained counsel on your behalf.

"Suspecting very much that the apprehension of yourself and your companions has merely originated in a wish, by violence and terror, to crush the cause in which you were engaged, of promoting a parliamentary reform, nothing but my advanced age and some other causes I cannot controul, would, I believe, have prevented my visiting you in your present situation, with a wish to learn the truth of your case; and if it turned out as I incline to think of it, to render you every personal assistance and service in my power; because I am decidedly of opinion, that independent of the countenance and support due to the friends of Reform, that cause in the event of your innocence being made manifest, may, in consequence of the treatment you have received, be advanced and promoted in the highest degree; in which case, if I have received a right impression of your character, I am sure you would greatly rejoice in having suffered for it. With an earnest wish that your innocence may appear to your country what

I believe it to be, I beg leave to subscribe myself,

"Sir, yours very truly,

"JOHN CARTWRIGHT."

In the same month in which this letter was written, Major Cartwright determined to overcome the obstacles therein alluded to, and set out on a political tour, the motives for which shall be given in his own words, as we find them in one of his letters to Mr. Wyvill. These letters were published some months afterwards, in consequence of an attack made upon him by that gentleman in his address to the Yorkshire freeholder on the 15th of October, 1813.

"You pointedly advert to the disturbed counties: I thank you for it, it calls on me to explain why I went thither.

"I had been informed that thirty-eight men peaceably assembled at the sign of the Prince Regent's Arms, in Manchester, on the 11th of June, for considering on a petition for Parliamentary Reform, had been apprehended by a constable, taking with him a strong guard of soldiers, and sent to Lancaster Gaol, fifty miles from their business and families, there to remain three months, and then be tried on the accusation of a hired informer, for having administered an unlawful oath, the punishment of which is transportation.

"From circumstances belonging to this case, I had the strongest suspicions that all was not well. The men were poor. A defence was likely to cost a considerable sum. Should they fail of a defence, their being transported for a crime partaking of the nature of treason, was inevitable.

"What a stab would here have been to the cause of parliamentary reform! How its enemies would have triumphed!

"Do you wonder I was anxious that these men, if innocent, should not suffer the shame, the ruin, of being banished to Botany Bay as traitors to their country? Do you wonder at my anxiety that the cause of Parliamentary Reform should not on this occasion be dishonoured, through the machinations of the vilest miscreants? By an impulse not to be resisted, I was drawn down to the scene of these transactions, to watch the event. It turned out as I had from the first believed it would, provided these poor men could have the benefit of a defence; and I earnestly recommend it to you to read the trial; having previously paid a close attention to the introduction."—Third letter to the Rev. C. Wyvill, 25th December, 1813.

The following are extracts from his letters to Mrs. Cartwright during this political tour:

"Loughborough, 26th August, 1812.

"Yesterday at Leicester, I found an old schoolfellow in Mr. Ruding. He lives a little way out of the town, where I dined with him. He, and

every thing about him, is in the true, plain, plentiful, and comfortable style of an old-fashioned country gentleman. My time was pleasantly spent. As the post goes out to-morrow about the time of the meeting, I can only inform you, that it is expected it will be well attended; especially by dissenters. If I may judge by the conversation I have had this morning with two dissenting ministers, I may entertain good hopes of persuading them to combine with their object of peace, that of reform.

"Manchester, 29th August, 1812.

"I had not been here last night above half an hour, when the agreeable news of the acquittal of the thirty-seven, after a trial of fourteen hours, arrived. Many particulars were not brought, but it is understood that the acquittal was with full credit*.

"What I advanced at Loughborough met with strong tokens of approbation from a meeting of about six hundred persons, but as the business of the day was not to adopt and sign a petition, but merely to recommend a petition for peace, and as a requisition from Nottingham embracing both objects of peace and reform is agreed upon, I thought it best not to urge my own opinion."

* In a letter from Mr. Brougham announcing this event to Major Cartwright, he speaks in terms of high admiration of Baron Wood's conduct on this occasion.

"Manchester, 1st September, 1812.

"We are going on in the best possible way. The honourable acquittal has produced a public dinner which will be held to-morrow. The next day *in the way of my calling* I must go to Liverpool, where I hope to do some service to the cause.

"The men of Sheffield have agreed to meet for reform and peace; and in compliance with their request, I have sent them a form of requisition adapted to the circumstances, which merit consideration. The corn in the country has wanted sun; it will of course shrink in measure and be deficient in weight. But our political harvest I trust will be a good one. You cannot picture to yourself the affectionate greetings I meet with. My appetite and sleep are not amiss. Had I two or three aides-de-camp, I should do better; I say aides-de-camp, because some blockhead, or wag, or wit, directed a letter for Major-General Cartwright, which I gave back unopened."

"Manchester, 3d September, 1812.

"We had yesterday a public dinner; the room full, and the whole went off with spirit and in all respects as it should be. The affectionate attentions I met with, have been most gratifying. I am going to Liverpool, return on Sunday, proceed the next day by way of Halifax to Sheffield, where I trust all things will go on completely to my satisfaction. From thence to Nottingham, and then home as expeditiously as I can."

" Warrington, 6th September.

" A meeting of 250 at Liverpool to compliment Mr. Brougham on account of his success in resisting the orders in council, as well as to introduce him as a candidate at the next election. Several good speeches, and parliamentary reform, after the immediate business of the day, came in for a good deal of attention. I keep well, though I have not had so much sleep as I could wish. It is at last fixed that a dinner should be held to-morrow, to which I am invited. A meeting for reform and peace is intended to follow, agreeably to what is proposed.

" I suspect that the timid at Nottingham have been at work, as I have not yet heard that a meeting is fixed. I have no doubt, however, of the thing being done, and shall endeavour to accelerate it."

" Wardsend, 15th September.

" This house is in one of the most beautiful situations in the kingdom, and my host* truly hospitable.

" At Sheffield it is reported that Mr. Brougham and I are carrying on in concert some grand plan, and so the wiseacres will amuse themselves.

" Hitherto I have had reason to be extremely satisfied with what I have seen, and with what I have done. May the end be as successful as the beginning!"

* Thomas Rawson, Esq.

"Chesterfield, 20th September.

"I incline to believe that because of an old woman's raising a mob, and making a little disturbance at Nottingham, there will be no meeting. I shall push it as much as I can, as in every view a right measure, and free from danger of every kind. But if the tide be very strong against me, perhaps I may compound, and agree to an arrangement for laying petitions at three or four houses for reform and peace. Mr. Rawson's kindness and hospitality were unbounded."

"Nottingham, 26th of September.

"My progress here has been slower than in any place I have previously visited. I trust, however, on my birth-day, when I shall complete my 72nd year, something decisive will take place. If a public meeting be agreed on, it will of course detain me till over; otherwise, I may depart sooner; that is, as soon as the forms of the petitions, and the mode of promoting signatures, are agreed on. As a dissolution of Parliament seems certain, I shall just reach town in time to partake a little in the operations in Westminster. My part however will be probably only to act as mere chamber council.

"On Thursday I was on the hawking party with my brother, and when tired of the sport I slipt off for Daybrooke, where I spent two pleasant hours with my friend Denison.

"My brother is in good health and spirits, and desires to be remembered," &c.

On his return to town, having written to solicit Lord Stanhope to give his name to the Hampden and Union Societies, he received from that nobleman, on the 3d of November, the following reply:—

"DEAR SIR,

"I have, as you well know, uniformly disclaimed the false and unprincipled proposition that the people's right to 'representation' was co-extensive with direct taxation. In order to prove its incorrectness, suppose that some Chancellor of the Exchequer were to contrive to raise the whole revenue at any time by means of indirect taxation, would that in any degree invalidate the sacred right of the people to be represented?

"It is taxation which is founded on representation, but not representation that is founded on taxation of any kind.

"I will not allow my name to be made use of*. I have correct principles which will never change. But as I have already told you, I have too indifferent an opinion of men, to consent to form an union with any men, for any purpose, good, bad or indifferent.

"I stand alone, and shall probably continue to do so: but if it shall please my God that I shall yet live but a short time longer, I trust that I shall leave to my fellow-men a rich legacy of utility.

"I am, dear Sir, &c.

"STANHOPE."

* That is, with a reference to the societies above-named.

During the year 1812 Major Cartwright experienced what was to him a very serious loss, that of eight hundred copies of his Ægis, and though, of all men, the least inclined by nature to suspicion, he could not divest himself of an idea that the loss of the work was to be attributed to the obnoxious opinions it contained.

The facts were briefly these:—On applying to his publisher, Mr. Johnson, of St. Paul's Church Yard, for some copies of the Ægis, that gentleman sent for them to the premises of the printers, Messrs. Mercier and Co., where, for convenience, they had been deposited. To his surprise, however, not a copy could be found or afterwards recovered, and no satisfactory reason was ever given for their disappearance.

Though avowedly the property of the author, who was not in the smallest degree indebted to Messrs. Mercier and Co., they had, as it appeared, been seized during their bankruptcy, nor could a single copy be afterwards recovered, though, with his usual indefatigable research, he endeavoured to trace the hands into which they had fallen.

It is but proper to remark, that he never imputed the slightest blame on this occasion either to the publisher or printers, but attributed his misfortune to some unknown and invisible agent, who took advantage of the bankruptcy, and whose mysterious proceedings baffled all his endeavours to make them the subject of legal investigation.

It was in vain that several of Major Cartwright's

friends endeavoured to discourage him from attempting another political tour early in the year 1813. Some thought the country in a state of too much excitation, others prophesied disappointment from the effects of apathy and indifference, while many urged that he would subject himself to ridicule and contempt; but equally unmoved by the different arguments with which he was assailed, he set forward on the 17th of January, and completed his journey on the 15th of February.

Speaking of his proposal that others should follow his example in this respect, "I do not", says he, "feel the force of Sir John's objection to travelling about. English gentlemen are perpetually travelling. In the thing itself, there is nothing extraordinary. Some go to see lakes and mountains. Were it not as allowable to travel for seeing the actual condition of a starving people? Some make journeys to examine the ruins of abbeys and castles, that they may publish drawings and dissertations. Would it not be as laudable to visit the ruins of the constitution, of national prosperity and happiness, that by the very act they may do much towards repairing that constitution, and recovering that prosperity and happiness?

"I should never have thought of suggesting to 'low men', to men of neither 'consideration' nor 'character', a tour of this kind. Is it wrong, then, that those who are alone calculated to do any good, should consent to it? What is the simple case? In a limited tour I discover in the mass of the

middle and working classes, a very general sense of wrong and misery, and a very general disposition to petition for a reform of that house, the corruption of which was generally supposed to be the cause; but diffident of their knowledge and of the best mode of applying for redress or the best form of a petition.

"The most zealous and active applied to me for advice and assistance; I mean among the higher classes of that description of persons.

"Are our 'persons of consideration' afraid of being sneered at, as '*itinerant apostles*'? * If they cannot stand such a sneer, if they shall not indignantly set such trash at defiance, what good can they ever do?

"Being myself, I trust, not without a due sense of the dignity becoming a gentleman, I am not aware how that dignity would be lessened by acting the part I suggest to others. I have already acted it, and if I am to judge from the deference and affection it everywhere obtained me, it may be inferred that, with respect to others, a like cause would produce a like effect, but augmented in proportion to higher rank and greater wealth. All that in my case, even the Editor of the Morning Post, as I understood, could find to say was, that a 'travelling reformist' was a new thing."

As in this letter Major Cartwright does justice

* An epithet applied to Major Cartwright himself.

to the much calumniated lower classes of the community, there is a heart-felt pleasure in adding a testimony in their favour, which many years' experience has enabled the writer to give. So far from presuming on her uncle's frankness of communication, or the kindness of his address, the greatest deference and respect were observable in whatever intercourse took place between them on the subject of politics. Whatever might be the feelings towards him of those in his own rank in life, the heart of the labourer and mechanic warmed towards the venerable champion of the people; in all his tours, they vied with each other in proofs of respectful attachment, and even now when his benevolent hand is cold in the grave, the contributions of many persons of very scanty means to the erection of a public monument to his memory, evince that they are not insensible to his merit, either as a public or a private character.

During a journey of only twenty-nine days, the 'travelling reformist' visited Lutterworth, Hinckley, Leicester, Loughborough, Chesterfield, Sheffield, Huddersfield, Wakefield, Leeds, Preston, Wigan, Liverpool, Bolton, Manchester, Lees, Stockport, Newcastle, Birmingham, Worcester, Tewkesbury, Gloucester, Stroud, Bath, Shepton-Mallet, Bridgewater, Taunton, Wellington, Bristol, Calne, Marlborough, Newbury, Hungerford, Abingdon, and Reading.

The only unpleasant occurrence which took place was, on the 21st of January, at Huddersfield,

when a small number of persons, most of them working mechanics, to whom he was an entire stranger, wishing to pay their respects to the 'father of reform', waited on him at his inn, and they remained with him till about nine o'clock in the evening. Just as they were about to withdraw, they were suddenly interrupted by the appearance of an officer belonging to the Scotch Grays (afterwards made a baronet), who entered, attended with several constables, in order to execute a warrant against Major Cartwright, and to examine his papers.

The business not being conducted in a very polite or gentlemanly manner, and above all conceiving the warrant to be illegal, the spirit of the old reformer was roused, and he sturdily refused to permit his papers to be searched, which occasioned a long and tedious discussion. One of the party, however, whose behaviour was a contrast to the rest, having requested him to acquiesce in the search, as a favour to himself, and as likely to prevent an unpleasant termination of the scene, he consented; and a constable being left for the purpose of accompanying this state criminal, the next morning, before a magistrate, he was allowed to retire to rest about half past three in the morning; a most unseasonable hour for one who seldom sat up later than ten at night.

The next morning, accompanied by constables, and escorted by a crowd of persons on foot, he went in his carriage to a magistrate who resided at some distance from the town, who, after examining

the papers found in his possession, which consisted only of various drafts of petitions to Parliament, with much politeness dismissed the complaint, and allowed him to pursue his journey.

Of this ebullition of ultra-loyalty he thus speaks, in a letter to Mrs. Cartwright, dated January 22:

"Last night I was annoyed by a very rude interference of civil and military professors of loyalty, and required to appear before a magistrate, and after admitting that petitions to the House of Commons were found in my possession, dismissed. Whether this circumstance is more likely to advance or to retard my progress, I cannot at present judge.—The northern air agrees with me remarkably well."

"Bradford, January 25.

"I have ordered a Wakefield paper to be sent you on Friday next, in which you will see the *true* account of the Huddersfield adventure of your Don Quixote. I got here last night, having been detained at Leeds, where I trust I have, in the mercantile phrase, done the needful. Apparently my tour will work much greater effects in the way of petitioning than I anticipated. If you and our Fanny have improved in health as much as I have done, you will be very blooming. God bless you all."

"Newcastle, February 2, 1813.

"I continue well—with regard to my adven-

ture, do not trouble yourself with any unpleasant fancies. I believe it is working silently but well, and that nothing but good can come of it. When in Lancashire, and the borders of Yorkshire, I had been promised forty petitions ; sixty have been already signed, and forms for forty more sent for."

"TO MR. ———, MERCHANT AT GLASGOW.

"3d February. In my chaise near Stone.

"DEAR SIR.

"By a Leeds newspaper I have ordered you, you will see I have had the same treatment as my friends at Glasgow. It has served but as a stimulus to my exertions. The tour I am upon has been more successful by far than I had hoped. The petitions will be very numerous. I trust in God, and in the spirit of the men of Glasgow, they will send us twenty thousand signatures at least.

"Yours truly,

"J. CARTWRIGHT."

"TO MRS. CARTWRIGHT.

"Gloucester, February 7, 1813.

"In this city I received a plaster for the scratch given at Huddersfield. Arriving soon after seven, my arrival came to the ears of Sir William Guise, and of the chairman of a large company met to celebrate the triumph of the independence of their county, in the election of Sir William.—I had an invitation to join the party, and received as cordial a greeting as ever I experienced ; my health was drunk with full honours, and so forth. An invita-

tion of this sort I should have declined, but found it was the wish of some of the Gloucester gentlemen with whom I was desirous of communicating. My ardent wishes attend the dear trio at home, where I hope to be on the 14th."

"Bristol, February 12.

"I find myself somewhat fatigued, as yesterday I was in the carriage at half past six, went from Taunton to Wellington and back, then proceeded hither, and having work to do at both places, did not arrive till twelve at night.

"This evening, at seven, I am to have a party of ten or a dozen, among whom I trust I shall accomplish what I came for.—I have visited Mr. Maurice, and had I been the nearest and dearest relation of the family, I could not have been received with more affectionate kindness by a circle of daughters, nieces, and two other young ladies, as well as by Mrs. Maurice."

After his return, he addressed a circular letter to all those gentlemen who had contributed to the expense of the tour, in which after rendering an account of disbursements, &c. he says—

"Prior to this tour, only two petitions, namely one from Manchester, and one from Halifax, had an existence; and through terror of persecution, a large proportion of the names to the former had

been torn off again; wherefore it is probable, that had not this tour taken place, both those petitions would have died still-born, and none else have appeared.

"The existing petitions may therefore be fairly attributed to the tour having been undertaken. Of these, four hundred and thirty have been consigned to the care of the writer.

"They are, unquestionably, a true expression of real feeling; for the tourist had no means of influence, except truth and reasoning; and these he could personally address only to a very few persons at each place he visited; for in twenty-nine days he travelled nine hundred miles."

On Major Cartwright's return to town, he used every possible endeavour to obtain a copy of the warrant which was served on him at Huddersfield, but without effect. On application being made to the office of the magistrate's clerk, of Huddersfield, he was informed, that this warrant had been sent, with other papers, to Government. By the Under Secretary of State, however, he was assured that no such paper was deposited in his office, but had been returned to Huddersfield; but on Major Cartwright's second application to that place through a friend, the person applied to declined to answer any farther questions.

These circumstances were stated in a petition relative to this and other transactions of the same

nature, which was presented to the House of Lords on the 1st of June, 1813, by the late Lord Byron, who, in speaking of the petitioner, said,

"He is a man, my Lords, whose long life has been spent in one unceasing struggle for the liberty of the subject, against that undue influence which has increased, is increasing, and ought to be diminished; and whatever difference of opinion may exist as to his political tenets, few will be found to question the integrity of his intentions.

"Even now, oppressed with years, and not exempt from the infirmities attendant on his age, but still unimpaired in talent, and unshaken in spirit, 'frangas, non flectes,' he has received many a wound in the combat against corruption; and the new grievance, the fresh insult, of which he complains, may inflict another scar, but no dishonour. The petition is signed by John Cartwright; and it was in behalf of the people and Parliament, in the lawful pursuit of that reform in the representation, which is the best service to be rendered both to Parliament and people, that he encountered the wanton outrage which forms the subject-matter of his petition to your Lordships. It is couched in firm, yet respectful, language—in the language of a man not regardless of what is due to himself; but, at the same time, I trust, equally mindful of the deference to be paid to this House. The petitioner states, among other matter of equal,

if not greater importance, to all who are British in their feelings, as well as blood and birth, that, on the 21st of January, 1813, at Huddersfield, himself and six other persons who, on hearing of his arrival, had waited on him merely as a testimony of respect, were seized by a military and civil force, and kept in close custody for several hours, subjected to gross and abusive insinuation from the commanding officer, relative to the character of the petitioner; that he (the petitioner) was finally carried before a magistrate, and not released till an examination of his papers proved that there was not only no just, but not even statutable, charge against him: and that, notwithstanding the promise and order from the presiding magistrates of a copy of the warrant against your petitioner, it was afterwards withheld, on divers pretexts, and has never until this hour been granted. The names and conditions of the parties will be found in the petition. To the other topics touched upon in the petition, I shall not now advert, from a wish not to encroach upon the time of the House; but I do most sincerely call the attention of your Lordships to its general contents. It is in the cause of the Parliament and people, that the rights of this venerable free man have been violated; and it is, in my opinion, the highest mark of respect that could be paid to the House, that, to your justice, rather than by appeal to any inferior court, he now commits himself."

The petition was ordered to lie on the table. The insult complained of by the petitioner in his own person, occupies but a very small part of its contents; it being intended chiefly as an exposition of various instances of obstruction to the right of petitioning, and of persecution towards those engaged in the exercise of that right.

It states that, at Bolton, a whole sheet of a petition was seized and never restored, while the person, at whose house it was found, was seized and put in prison; from whence he was liberated without trial: and it instances other occurrences of a like nature at Rochdale, at Manchester, at Salford, and at Glasgow.

The petition then details the circumstances attending the prosecution of the thirty-seven persons already alluded to, and concludes in this manner; "that when petitioning, although a right held justly sacred for its inestimable benefits, that, in particular, for giving stability to a state, in affording a peaceful vent to discontents, and tranquillizing the agitated mind of a suffering people by the soothing influence of hope, is treated by narrow-minded magistrates as a sort of treason—where petitioners, by such magistrates and their subordinates, are purposely stigmatized, and classed with the worst of criminals, pursued by violent strainings of the law, and even persecuted by courses wholly illegal—and when such a system, upheld by the employment of hired spies, notoriously active in tempting the ignorant into crimes,

has become manifest to the reproach of our nation, and to the terror of all who are faithful to the freedom and constitution of their country—your petitioner trusts he shall stand excused for having attempted to draw the attention of your honourable House to a system so portentous of the direst calamities that can befal a state."

" TO SAMUEL WHITBREAD, ESQ.

" 20th May, 1813.

" DEAR SIR,

" Your hesitation on the subject of presenting to the House of Commons my Petition, seems to call upon me for a justification of its being presented.

" You expressed it as your opinion that the cause to which it attempts to call the attention of the house would make no impression on those to whom it is addressed ; and if I rightly understood the extent of the application, your opinion of that assembly should seem to be more disadvantageous than my own, unfavourable as that may be supposed to be.

" With regard to a very great majority of the House, I must necessarily think them utterly insensible to the oppressions the petition notices ; and indeed implicated in those oppressions ; but still I was persuaded there were several who would have gladly embraced an opportunity of indicating their characters to the nation, by indignantly reprobating those tyrannical proceedings for their

inequity and insolence; and who also condemned them as a policy the reverse of wisdom.

"On this ground I was led to hope an animated debate might have been raised; a debate more useful than any on affairs in Germany, Spain or America; a debate on the eve of presenting some hundreds of petitions for restoring to us the Constitution of England, that would have at once furnished the public with a new argument of the greatest force in support of that restoration, and a debate which would have persuaded us that radical reform had friends within that House entitled to approbation and confidence.

"This view of things will I trust vindicate me, singular as may appear the line of conduct I have on this occasion adopted.

"In all other respects I have done, and continue doing, what my private means enable me to do, for advancing that political cause to which, in my humble judgment, all political efforts either of private or public men, ought pre-eminently to tend: in as far as this cause is on any occasion lost sight of or postponed, so far the politician appears to me to wander out of his right road, or to forget the true end and object of his journey; and of course to waste his time and employ his exertions unprofitably.

"Nor, Sir, do I conceive my conclusions to arise from a mode of thinking, into which I was originally led either by connection or party, by juvenile fancy or accident, and to which I have

been confined by mere mechanical habit; but to have originated in the force of self-evident truths, to have grown up with experience, and to have resulted from unbiassed enquiries into the principles of the science of civil government, as well as to have been rivetted in my mind by a sense of moral and religious obligation; for in my view of those conclusions, they are inseparable from my notions of the duty of an honest man towards God or his neighbour.

"Thus thinking, I hold it to be right to adhere to my Petition. Should it cause such a debate as undoubtedly might be built on it, it is my conviction, that at the present moment when political opinion is undergoing a change, the most extensive good would result; and that, even without the aid I wish, the petition itself will have a beneficial effect on the public mind.

"On the inferior matter of printing I trust my letter to the Speaker is unanswerable. It surely is unfit that the nation should experience any unnecessary shackle on its right of petitioning.

"Besides, if printing were disallowed, a large proportion of some hundreds of petitions now in my hands must be sent back for alteration.

"I have the honour to remain,

"Dear Sir,

"Very truly yours,

"J. CARTWRIGHT."

"TO THE RIGHT HON. LORD STANLEY.

"15th May, 1813.

"MY LORD,

"In consequence of communications from Preston, I had intended to have waited on your Lordship, but am prevented by indisposition.

"I understand that letters have passed between your Lordship and Mr. John Eamer of that place, touching the petitions from thence for an amendment in the representation of the people in Parliament.

"It has been the wish, I find, of those who have subscribed the petitions, that they should be presented to the House of Commons by your Lordship in preference; provided they would have the benefit of your support in the prayer of them; and those petitions having been confided to my care, I am instructed to consult your Lordship on that head.

"I having, my Lord, recently learned that you are ready to present the petitions, but at the same time very properly require to know their contents before you can say they will have your support, I have now the honour to address to you a circular, to which is subjoined a correct copy of the Preston petitions, which are ten in number, signed by 2503 persons.

"These petitions, embracing the most important of all earthly objects, human liberty, sole parent of national prosperity and happiness, your Lordship will perhaps pardon the anxiety which farther

induces me to submit to you another paper which also had been made circular, prior to the one I have already mentioned.

" These papers have been written with a hope, not only of exciting attention to the subject of them, but likewise of removing what have appeared to the writer great prejudices and fundamental errors touching the means of attaining the object in view. The reader of those papers will decide on the correctness or incorrectness of the reasoning they contain.

" It is, however, no slight satisfaction to the writer, to have learned that in respect of the three propositions in which the prayer of those subjects is couched, there has been hitherto among all who have petitioned a perfect unanimity, although they have been somewhat numerous.

" The writer has at this time in his house 292 petitions, signed by about 199,000 persons; and there are about twenty towns whose petitions are either not yet arrived, or have been committed to other hands; besides that from additional towns, petitions are expected. A beginning this, which argues, I trust, an early declaration of public opinion not to be resisted.

" In speaking of unanimity, the writer confines himself to the prayer of the petitions; since in some instances (not indeed many) there is a variance in the recitals, and in the statement of public grievances; a variance, however, not of importance, nor in the slightest degree discordant

from those which are given in the petitions from Preston.

" This unanimity in the prayer can alone, as it should seem, be attributed to the simplicity and to the unanswerableness of the three concise propositions in which that prayer is expressed. And herein the reasoning of the first of the accompanying circulars is remarkably confirmed; for it cannot escape your Lordship's observation, that this prayer, which has been adopted with such extraordinary unanimity, had not in its favour any of those auspices which so frequently influence public opinion.

" It went forth unpatronized by the great, the potent, or the wealthy. It had no other recommendation than its own intrinsic truth, and manifest sufficiency for political salvation. This appeal to the understandings and the hearts of Englishmen has been found irresistible.

" And besides this auspicious unanimity in the petitioners themselves, not a single counter-petitioning voice has been raised. Here again is seen the expediency, as well as the rectitude, of a strict adherence to constitutional truth; which none can gainsay without exposing their ignorance, or something still less creditable.

" Should I learn from your Lordship that in addition to presenting the Preston petition, the prayer of them will have your support, they shall be delivered over to you: but I shall then have to request, that in respect to the time of presenting,

you would have the goodness to co-operate with our other friends in the House, as circumstances which are of themselves slight, have, when judiciously combined, some effect on public opinion.

"In a few days I expect a petition will be presented to the House for drawing its attention to a species of persecution and illegality which, once truly understood, cannot fail to call forth the indignant reprobation of every English gentleman who respects the liberty and constitution of his country.

"As the county which your Lordship represents is implicated, I shall not fail, at the proper time, to furnish you with a copy of the said petition, in the hope that some serious notice may be taken of the evil it complains of.

"I have the honour to subscribe myself," &c.

"TO LORD STANLEY.

"21st June, 1813.

"MY LORD,

"By this post I have the honour to transmit you a copy of my petition to both houses of Parliament, which was mentioned to you in my letter of the 15th ultimo.

"By the Lords it was rejected on reasons wholly foreign to the nature of the application; and in the Commons it was in my judgment very improperly withdrawn, merely on the suggestion of the Speaker, that being printed it was not consistent with the practice of the House to receive it; which I hold to have been unfounded.

" Be such matters however in the view of the two Houses as they may, the statements I must still believe ought to attract the attention of both, as well as of every Englishman individually, particularly the noblemen and gentlemen of Lancashire, where I have by letter been very recently informed ' Orange Lodges have long existed,' although in the London newspapers ' the existence of such lodges' has been spoken of ' as a perfectly new and unheard-of atrocity.'

" In the letter with which your Lordship honoured me, on the 5th of this instant, you express surprise that mine of the 15th ultimo should have been written to you, after a correspondence with the town of Preston, from which you should imagine I must have learned that you ' had already declined to present the Preston petitions upon several grounds.'

" Your Lordship may be assured that I did not know of any such determination, or certainly the application I made to you would have been indecorous.

" The fact, my Lord, is, that finding the petitioners had no hope of support to their petition from the immediate members for their town, and having been induced to turn their eyes to one from whom they had no doubt of support, it was my own suggestion so early as the 29th of March, that they should put their petition into your Lordship's hands, provided you would support it.

" You will perceive, my Lord, by the advice I

had given, that when I found the members returned for their own town were not, in their opinion, likely to be representatives of their opinions and wishes on a question vital to their liberty, I had recommended them to turn their thoughts to a third person—to your Lordship—from whom they might entertain better hopes; and reflection does not apprise me that in so doing I acted improperly.

"The advice I gave stands on this foundation, that the office of a representative is, to do in the legislature for his constituents that which they, if present, and acting wisely, would do for themselves. Hence, my Lord, in the present decayed condition of our representative system, the least which, in common prudence, the aggrieved people, while attempting an amendment of that system according to the constitution, can do, is to put their petitions into the hands of those, and of those only, who agree with them in their ideas, and will support their exertions on points vital to their rights and liberties.

"Your Lordship confirms to me the opinion I had previously entertained, and which was the ground of the advice I gave, that you are a decided and hearty friend of parliamentary reform; but you call for 'a feasible and advantageous plan' before you give 'your support further than in the abstract.'

"With much submission, my Lord, the Preston petitioners requested no more than your support

of the constitutional principles of representation in the 'abstract', for they proposed no 'plan'. The three propositions containing their prayer are mere *principles* as concise and abstract as perhaps can be stated; and I imagine it does not belong to the people to load their petitions with the details of any 'plan' for giving those principles effect—that is the office of Parliament. The question of support, or the contrary, of *principles*, should seem to depend simply on the truth, or the contrary of the propositions on which those principles are stated. I am not aware that the truth of the three propositions in the prayer of the Preston petitions have as yet been or can be denied.

"On the declaration, my Lord, of your hearty friendliness to reform, I am encouraged to lay before your Lordship the enclosed; and as the subject is that which ought to be the nearest of any to an Englishman's heart, if your Lordship shall detect any error in the reasoning of it, I should consider myself as under a real obligation if you would have the goodness to point it out.

"I have the honor to be, my Lord,

"Your Lordship's obedient humble Servant,

"J. CARTWRIGHT."*

* "Lord Stanley refusing to receive J. Cartwright's letter, together with a copy of his petition to both Houses of Parliament against the persecutions of the reformers; they were returned by the two-penny post on the 23d."—Memorandum found among Major Cartwright's papers.

The same willingness to listen to the opinions of others is expressed in a letter addressed to Lord Holland, March 1, 1818, in which he says, "On my part, I am truly desirous of correcting any of my own errors which your Lordship, or any other person, will have the goodness distinctly to specify.

"Personal interest is not more than true patriotism will always sacrifice to the public good; but shocking indeed would it be were not pride, prejudice, and untenable opinions, most readily made a burnt-offering on its altar."

"TO SEÑOR ARGUELLES.

"July 23, 1813.

"SIR,

"I had the honour of receiving your obliging letter of the 16th May, 1812, for which I beg you to accept my sincere thanks.

"I am well aware of the extreme difficulties under which your nation has had to struggle in her noble effort for driving out of her territory the most wicked of invaders; and when I begged your acceptance of 'An Essay on the Policy of dissolving a Connection between a Mother Country and her Colonies', written many years ago, I merely thought it might suggest matter of useful reflection, at a period when it seemed probable that the sovereignty of Spain over her trans-atlantic possessions, could not, in the nature of things, long continue.

"With regard to Spain herself, I confess, Sir,

that for some time past my hopes of her recovering freedom have been at a very low ebb. But events seem now providentially to open a more cheering prospect. I allude to the destruction of the immense French army which invaded Russia, to the consequent inability of France to pour into Spain at her pleasure, and to any amount, new bodies of troops, and to the happy consequences of the battle of Vittoria.

" Looking now with a lively hope to a complete expulsion of your enemy, I anticipate at the same time the exquisite gratification of seeing the new Spanish Constitution every where completely understood and acted upon throughout your territory. I hope it will be read once in every three or six months in the churches, and copies of it left with proper persons in every parish for constant reference.

" By the tract I have the honour to send you, it will be seen in what a narrow compass lies the preservation of liberty when once in a nation's possession. The whole secret consists in the Laws being *made* and *administered* by the PEOPLE, and an armed organization, not dependent on either a chief magistrate or a legislature, but founded on the rights of nature declared in a sacred constitution.

" But Sir, you know these truths as well as I do. It is, however, always gratifying to the friends of human liberty, when those of other countries en-

tertain similar sentiments with themselves, and the more these subjects are discussed, the clearer becomes the light in which they are seen.

"To the first copy of the above-mentioned tracts, sent in haste to be forwarded to Mr. Fallon for you, I now beg leave to add two more*. If you can make use of them in any way beneficial to the cause of Spain it will afford me the greatest satisfaction.

"Our newspapers told of Spanish forces penetrating into France. I sincerely hope that none of the energies of your nation will be wasted on expeditions of that character, except of a momentary nature, and to effect some occasional service, as the destruction of a depôt or some such object.

"No: once freed from the curse of invaders, meditating your subjugation, exert your wisdom and all your strength in securing the Pyrennean passes; in teaching your people your constitution, and in organizing them as an armed nation, on the same principles as laid down in 'England's Ægis', which I think is in your possession.

"To these ends a very scanty revenue is sufficient. Implant in the hearts of all Spaniards a devotion to liberty, and arm them to defend it. No invaders can annoy such a nation.

"I am, &c.

"JOHN CARTWRIGHT."

* One of these was a tract by Sir W. Jones.

"TO T. NORTHMORE, ESQ.

"2nd of October, 1813.

"MY DEAR SIR,

"I pray you to recollect that the Hampden meets on the first Saturday of the assembly of Parliament, when matters of first-rate importance will require the attendance of those who rightly understand and truly estimate what such a society, conducted with wisdom, may effect.

"As the meeting will be this day five weeks, 6th of November, I anxiously hope you will be present.

"You will see by the Morning Chronicle of Thursday that Philo-Selden is not idle. I hope that he may contribute to chase from the atmosphere of England the foul and despicable fiend, despondence. The deliverance of Spain would, I trust, awaken the patriot sluggards of England. And is not all Spanish America, the slaves of slaves, once more rising to freedom and the dignity of man! These then surely are days auspicious to reform!

"Bring us from the north, where you have had the air gently agitated with a political breeze, a good band of volunteers for the Hampden. What think you of the suggestion thrown out by Philo-Selden, of making your child a fashionable young gentleman?

"The society for employing the press creeps on. At our meeting I hope it will find encouragement. Without it, whether the club be numerous or other-

wise, we must creep with the tortoise; whereas with it, we may fly with the eagle.

"If in our society we drop the character of constitutional instructors for that of purblind men stickling for a plan full of imperfection, from that moment we forfeit our pretensions to public confidence, and must inevitably lose it. It is for the *people* to petition for the rights of their country—for the Parliament to adopt the detail, that is, the plan for securing these rights. Our three propositions are a foundation of adamant. Let us labour for a parliamentary vote declaratory of those three propositions. Any blockhead can then furnish the detail that is to constitute the plan.

"Here is a plain answer to those superficial men who are the dupes of the crafty, by calling for a plan by way of shewing what we mean; we mean that our country shall have representation, co-extensive with direct taxation—that this being a common right be fairly distributed; and that parliaments shall not have continuance beyond one year, which we demonstrate to be incompatible with freedom and our constitution.

"Can our reasoning be made clearer? No: but if we go into the detail of regulation, we split on a sunken rock. Our meaning stands on three unanswerable propositions; but no human sagacity can make every detail of complex regulations unanswerable. Here we, the reformists ourselves, will have different notions of what is best. The adversary then cries, until the reformists are agreed

themselves, let us postpone reform! It will be a fatal error to give this advantage against us. Excuse great haste. My respects and best wishes wait on Mrs. Northmore."

To bestow on his extensive private concerns the requisite attention, had long been, to Major Cartwright's mind, an almost insupportable burthen. He was, therefore, anxious to part with his estate in Lincolnshire; and having, in October, 1813, accomplished that object, he thus expresses his satisfaction in a letter to Mrs. Cartwright:

"MY DEAREST AND BEST FRIEND,

"The storm is at length over, and the haven reached; if not the haven of luxury, it will, I trust, be that of repose: there will be less for those I love than I reckoned on three months ago; but Heaven's will be done!

"With regard to the servant you mentioned, it is a satisfaction to me to be surrounded by those whose parents have been under our patronage, and amongst whom we have so good a chance of fidelity and attachment.

"To live to no end is a melancholy thing; and happiness, making some allowance for the constitutional frame of different minds, should seem to be in proportion to the end proposed. Unless we adopt the plan we talked of, I must give up my present situation, and abandon what constitutes the prime happiness of my life, that of promoting

what, in my view of it, is an object so truly important."

The anxiety which Major Cartwright felt, that the Hampden Club should distinguish itself by its patriotism, cannot be better shewn than by the following letters to its founder:

"20th April, 1814.

"MY DEAR SIR,

"Having laid the fair copy of the proposed petition before me, for considering how much of it could be dispensed with for the sake of condensation, nearly twenty of its clauses were struck out; so that, for the kind of thing it is intended for, namely, a petition for placing the Hampden Club in the van of the hundred and forty thousand petitioners for radical reform, and in a style for shewing they are worthy of that station, and may in future be looked up to with that confidence in their knowledge and integrity which has been withdrawn from all other public men, it may not now, I trust, be thought too long.

"Did it become them to be followers instead of leaders, it might be very concise; but this surely would not be sound policy, either for their own reputation, or with a view to the success of the cause in which they have embarked; to which success, their reputation is of the utmost consequence.

"But without an efficient committee being established for constant vigilance and activity, it were

in vain—a mere idle dream—to hope for success; which can only, by any possibility, be brought about by an unceasing effort, like that of the slave-trade committee, for awakening public attention, and keeping it steadily fixed on its object.

"No sympathy, no animation, no enthusiasm in the cause can arise in the nation at large, unless they see at their head a body of honest and intelligent men, ever at their post, ever attentive to favourable circumstances, with whom they can sympathize, and on whom they can depend for promoting the like in all parts of the kingdom.

"In short the club must be a heart, and the committee a brain for giving life and conduct to that body which is to be benefited by reform; but which body without a heart and a brain, must continue a mere inanimate carcase; or at best a mere suffering mass, without the ability of obtaining relief.

"In my own judgment such a club, considering the principles laid down by themselves as the standards of right conduct, might safely depend on an annual committee in the intervals between general meetings, adhering inflexibly to those principles, and on their being very careful to attend in their own conduct, to the honour and reputation of the club.

"For doing therefore substantial good, I see no medium between a liberal confidence in their committee, and much more frequent meetings of the general body.

"If not engaged, perhaps Mrs. Northmore and yourself could take your tea in James-street on Friday: we could then talk these matters over.

"Yours, my dear Sir, very truly,

"JOHN CARTWRIGHT."

"If the little prattlers could accompany you, it would be a great treat. Could they not be sent home at their proper bed-time? They could have here such supper as they are accustomed to; we have a dairy close at hand, and any thing should be provided which a dairy may not afford."

"TO THOMAS NORTHMORE, ESQ.

"MY DEAR SIR, "17th May, 1814.

"The draft of the petition came last night. I have desired a corrected proof to be sent you before working off, that when returned with your farther corrections, if you should detect any thing which has escaped my eye, two copies may be transmitted to you, and two to myself.

"I will see you on Thursday, and will then submit to you what occurs to me.

"Circumstanced as we find ourselves, with the innocence of the dove we must unite the wisdom of the serpent, or we shall become the dupes of magpies.

"We have a strait, a manly, and an honourable course to steer, and I am sure you and I shall never consent to steer any other.

"Yours truly,

"JOHN CARTWRIGHT."

In this month (May) a meeting was held in Palace Yard, to congratulate the Prince Regent on the cessation of hostilities with foreign powers. The address was moved by Mr. P. Walker, and seconded by Major Cartwright.

It being expected that a vacancy would take place in the representation for Westminster, in consequence of the trial of Lord Cochrane, Mr. Peter Walker addressed a letter to his venerable friend on the 3d June, 1814, requesting to know whether in case of such vacancy he felt inclined to offer himself as a candidate, and whether his health would allow of his undertaking so laborious an office.

To this letter, he on the 10th of June returned an answer, from which the following passages are extracted:

"James-street, Westminster.

"The very unfortunate issue of a certain trial now enables me explicitly to answer the kind letter you wrote me from Sussex on the 3d of this instant.

"Should a vacancy for our city be a consequence of the said trial, and should in that case my fellow-citizens think fit to constitute me their parliamentary attorney, my services would certainly be at their command.

"It were a call which, according to my notions of public duty, ought not to be disobeyed by any

one, unless for reasons of the gravest nature and greatest weight. From me an excuse would come with an ill grace; seeing that for eight-and-thirty years I have taken a prominent part in the controversy on reform, as well as in the practical exertions for its accomplishment; that is, in the endeavour to recover the proper liberties of England; nor ever with more earnestness than during the last six years down to the present moment.

"In having manifestations before our eyes that exertions for liberty are not barren toils, there is a source of animation sufficient to make old men feel young, and to repay with the richest returns labours the most arduous. You ask me if the cause of reform would by my being in Parliament be materially assisted? On that point others are more properly judges than myself, but this perhaps without impropriety I may say, that if success were to depend on speeches made within the walls of the House of Commons, it were much to be doubted whether the sending there a Cicero or a Demosthenes would much avail.

"Being of opinion that in the present state of things there are different subscriptions or pledges which may be of use; I have a pledge to give which I request you to record. According to all I ever thought or wrote on the duration of representative power, it ought to be as short as possible. It cannot exceed one year without a gross violation of public liberty, without a stab in the vitals of the

constitution. Once brought back to this wholesome limitation, it were probable that neither provocation nor prudence would ever in any individual case suggest a desire of shortening that period.

"But thinking the power of an attorney ought on all cases to depend on the will of his employer, and to be revocable at his pleasure, I should, therefore, in the event of becoming a parliamentary attorney, hold myself bound not to avail myself of any statute against my constituents, but to surrender my power at any moment which might be agreeable to them.

"And further, should a decline of health disable me from performing my duty, I should solicit a general meeting for receiving back the honourable trust, that it might be placed in hands better able to answer the just expectations of the electors.

"To your query, as to 'my choosing to be a candidate', I would say, that with regard to myself, it is perhaps a constitutional enthusiasm more than a correct estimate of my own powers, that I am ready if called on to undertake a laborious office. This I hold to be a very distinct thing from being a soliciting candidate for the highest of all trusts. To whom that trust in Westminster shall be confided, the independent electors, regardless of all soliciting parties, will, I am sure, for themselves determine; and my sole wish is, that in so

doing they may be governed by a sincere desire of doing that which shall be most for the good of their country.

Lord Cochrane, however, again appeared as a candidate, and Major Cartwright heartily united with his other friends in supporting his election.

"Very different would be my feelings", says he*, "on this occasion, if, at the close of forty years' faithful service, and immediately after having stood in the gap against the treachery of an unprincipled intrigue, I were to be unceremoniously dropped and cast off as a worn-out garment to clear the way for some reformist whose patriotism, like some gay flower, expands only in the sunshine, and is shrivelled up at night, or in apprehension of a storm.

"Possibly I may be an enthusiast worthy of no sober regard, but being what I am, and identified as I am in the cause of reform, I cannot divest myself of a persuasion that the return of one so peculiarly circumstanced might have been useful to the spirit of the nation.

"My personal friends think that at 74 years of age, to encounter the consequences of a return, might be at the hazard of life; but those friends who may wish the span of my existence to be pro-

* These reflections were found in a private memorandum book, and are on that account peculiarly interesting.

longed in ease, may not make the same estimate with me of the value of my life."

When it is recollected that a few years after he was like "a worn-out garment", dropped off by the city of Westminster, these prophetic lines can hardly be read without emotion even by those of different opinions in politics.

In the August of this year he suffered much from indisposition, of which he thus speaks on the 24th of that month.

"TO T. NORTHMORE, ESQ.

"MY DEAR FRIEND,

"Since you left town I got so near a certain bourn from whence there is no return, that had it not been for the timely hand of Dr. Maton, turning me short round, I should probably have slipped in.

"While doubtful of returning ability for finishing my short series of letters to Clarkson, my anxiety on this point gave me as much regret as almost any thing of which at the time I was sensible. It was the *present* object.

"My grand hope was that these letters might strike some real patriotism from the hearts of our opposition politicians, so that the thoughts of a departure without accomplishing that object, and thereby bringing my labours to a beneficial finish, was a cause of serious grief.

"I may now however hope that God has pro-

longed my span to that end. If this can be effected, your child* may quickly grow to a political Hercules, capable of cleansing a stable more filthy than that which three thousand oxen have been fouling for many years."†

The letters here alluded to, and which were addressed to that excellent man Mr. Clarkson, were published during this year. It is hardly necessary to say, that between these two persevering friends of humanity, there ever subsisted a strong congeniality of feeling and opinion.

His motives for publishing these letters are best given in his own words, addressed

"TO SAMUEL WHITBREAD, ESQ.

"30th August, 1814.

"DEAR SIR,

"I beg leave to submit to you the first letters of a series of eight in number, which I have written to Clarkson, intending that you shall receive the

* The Hampden Club.

† In this letter Major Cartwright informs Mr. Northmore that, in case of his death, the writer of these memoirs was at liberty to make such use of his letters and papers as she might deem beneficial to the public, and he also expresses a hope that Mr. Northmore might be consulted in the selection. When the writer first perused this letter, the manuscript was in a state of forwardness, and the papers already collected; but on its completion, it was subjected to Mr. Northmore's inspection, and to her inexpressible satisfaction received the unqualified sanction of one in whom her venerable uncle had such well founded confidence.

other seven. My objects are two. The first is, to follow up the exertion so nobly commenced on the 17th of June, and so energetically supported by the people, for causing, if possible, to be expunged that shameful article in the treaty of Paris for a revival of the African Slave-trade.

" The second object is, to show the *too great affinity* between that horrid trade and another that is carried on in our own land, of which Englishmen and their most vital interests are the victims, as well as to promote the extinction of this abominable traffic.

" With regard to the former object, the line I have taken, and to which I am not aware of any objection, should seem likely to secure a happy result; provided what I suggest should so far meet with the avowed approbation of yourself and the other leading men in Parliament, as to create an expectation that, in the event of a failure at Vienna, such a measure would be resorted to, and strenuously supported both in and out of Parliament.

" The full persuasion of my own mind is, that if such an avowal be not very publicly and explicitly made, the cause will be betrayed abroad. Having said this, I leave the matter to your consideration.

" To the view taken of my second object, I most anxiously wish for your fullest attention. In reference to my first, you, and the others in my letters who are named, as well as all who joined

you, adopted the only rational line of action; a line of action which I also hold to be self-evident for succeeding in the other second, and still more important object. You and I, Sir, have formerly had on this point some difference of opinion. But in confirmation of my sentiments I am now able to refer you to your own unanswerable language, and perfectly right conduct.

"Considering the progress made, even in the countries of despotism, in the diffusion of political knowledge, England surely is called on to show that she alone, of all European nations, is not growing more ignorant and more slavish!

"Why, in the obviously proper means to be taken, the people of England should not stand forward with as much unanimity in defence of their own freedom as of that of the negroes, I must be slow to believe. It does not accord with my experience, and is contrary to reason.

"In reference to means, I would, Sir, observe to you, that the eloquence of a Wilberforce, a Fox, and the other parliamentary abolitionists would, in my humble judgment, have proved wholly abortive, had not a solid foundation been previously laid, by the labours of a committee of twelve unknown men, who privately met once a week, and who within little more than twelve months had stirred the public mind, and caused a public movement by petitions, having printed and circulated nearly eighty thousand publications great and small.

"Those twelve men, though little known, were

not unaffluent. Their collective income has been estimated at £18,000 per annum. There now exists a society for promoting the second object of my letters to Clarkson, who exceed one hundred in number, and whose collective income is computed at more than £250,000 per annum. With the fact before our eyes of what was done for African freedom by the original agency of the twelve, what may not be effected for English freedom by the agency of the far more numerous and far more wealthy body?

"Your experience will not, Sir, leave it necessary I should state, that although this latter society so far exceeds in strength and opulence the former body, their exertions have not yet been commensurate to their means. But an accession of men, capable of inspiring confidence and exciting to activity and energy, might soon supply all defects. Thus contemplating means, means as obvious as resistless, of complete success in relation to the object alluded to,

"I remain, dear Sir,

"Very truly yours,

"JOHN CARTWRIGHT."

To this letter Mr. Whitbread replied in these terms, on the 4th November, 1814:

"DEAR SIR,

"On my arrival in London I received your letter, for which I am much obliged to you. Your

unabated zeal and persevering industry are worthy of perpetual imitation. You do me honour; and there is no extremity to which I would not have recourse, to abolish the abomination of the Slave-trade; but I much question whether you will find the country generally prepared for the consideration of the other great question. The country never has, and, I fear, never will, express a feeling so general as they have done about the Slave-trade; if they had, Parliament would long since have been reformed; and so I have frequently said. I am fearful of joining any association, lest I should do more harm than good. I apprehend, that a letter or parcel addressed to the Abbé Gregoire, at Paris, would certainly find him.

"I am, with great respect,

"Dear Sir, &c.

"S. WHITBREAD."

In the letters addressed to Mr. Clarkson was developed the plan proposed by Major Cartwright of making the Slave-trade piracy; which has since been adopted by the Government of this country, in a statute enacted the 5th year of George IV. chap. 113. sect. 9.

This plan he also recommended to his Majesty the Emperor of Russia, through Count Lieven, on the 4th of October, 1814.

Never can the writer forget the pleasure she experienced in pointing out to his observation, on the 26th of December, 1823, about nine months

before his lamented death, a passage in the speech of the President of the United States, in which the intention of that Government was announced, of classing the slave-trade under the denomination, and inflicting on its perpetrators the punishment, of piracy; nor the satisfaction which beamed in his benevolent eyes, when, on the 20th of March, 1824, he learned from Mr. Adams Smith, Secretary to the American Minister, that a treaty had been formed between this country and the United States for carrying the measure into effect.

It has been already remarked, that so long as any benefit was gained to the cause of philanthropy, he was indifferent by whose means it was accomplished; nor can his feelings on such subjects be better exemplified than by an expression which he once made use of in speaking of reform, and which was treasured in the memory of one* on whom, though a boy at the time, it made a deep and indelible impression. "He should", he said, "be content to deposit the acorn in the ground, provided posterity might live under the branches of the oak." Though many of his benevolent wishes for the good of mankind remain to be accomplished, yet it is remarkable, that since his decease, circumstances have arisen which would have afforded him sensible gratification, as symptomatic of that increasing liberality of sentiment which promises an increasing amelioration in the condi-

* Mr. G. Fordham, jun.

tion of the human race. One of these improvements, for which the public are indebted to Mr. Peel, will be hereafter noticed, in speaking of Major Cartwright's reiterated and then unregarded protests against the manner of selecting special juries.

"TO THOMAS NORTHMORE, ESQ.

"24th December, 1814.

"DEAR SIR,

"I did imagine you would be impatient for a report of the proceedings of the Hampden Club on the 15th; but as nothing was done, and I was hard at work for a relation, it was not in my power to write. As there were only three gathered together, we had nothing for it but to hope for better things another time, and agreed that the business should stand over to the general meeting in March*.

"As to the cure of corruption, you administer but ill comfort in quoting the fall of Carthage and Tyre, Spain, Italy and Portugal. None of these had such a constitution as England. As the premises are not alike, so, I trust, the consequence with us will not be the same. We have a clear and obvious principle of renovation, of which they were ignorant.

"In Westminster I am likely to have a hard

* Speaking, in another place, of the non-attendance of the Club, he says, "There were often not more than three members; and on 15th March, 1815, no one attended but myself."

battle on the property-tax. I cannot consent to crouch, as a slave, at the feet of usurpers, praying them to lighten my burthen, but without asserting my right to be free.

" You are very kind to remind me of your invitation to Cleve—at present it is not in my power; but I by no means lose sight of so agreeable a prospect.

" At my nephew's, in Kent, I have lately had much enjoyment in one of my favourite professions, that of a landscape gardener. Finding that he wished to make a new approach to his house, I reconnoitred the park and adjoining grounds, where I traced one which seemed to me to contain exquisite beauty, with extreme simplicity and dignity at every step. He fortunately has a large extent of fine woods, with great store of grand oaks, and a noble as well as rich variety of scenery.

" Finding, also, that my nephew had sometimes contemplated the building a new house at his leisure, I brushed up my architectural ideas, and amused myself in designing a house adapted to the situation and the delicious views it affords. Having planned an entire house, from the cellar to the roof, and drawn two elevations for the principal fronts—the style being that of a castle with battlements, and a tower commanding an extraordinary extent and variety of prospect inland and seaward, with the French coast in the horizon—I have had the good fortune to please my nephew,

and, indeed, rather more than myself, for my partialities are towards Grecian architecture.

" As Mrs. Northmore has the goodness to flatter me with her kind attention, I shall be in duty bound to render her every homage and service in the power of a veteran knight. My domestic guardian desires to be included in every sentiment of affection and regard to her and her good man.

" It is in vain to attempt to get speeches fairly given. Mine, on the 16th, was one of my best; but it was not in writing, nor had I afterwards the time to write it.

" I just learn, that we have hopes of things taking a right turn on the 29th. The original requisition, including 'the state of national taxation', I preserved, for guarding against evil. It is now, therefore, the first object of the meeting, as you will see by the Morning Chronicle of yesterday."

This meeting took place on the day expected at Palace Yard, when Major Cartwright, as appears by the newspaper report, expressed himself to the following effect.—

" He apprehended that the cessation of the American war would secure the discontinuance of the war-tax on property, at least at its present amount. It was not, however, the question, as to its amount, or whether the per centage should be increased or diminished, but it was the spirit and character of the imposition which ought chiefly to

attract their consideration. The lion's whelp might be a harmless plaything at first, but if suffered to grow, would finally prove himself to be a lion. The purpose for which they were then assembled was threefold; first, to consider of the general state of the national taxation; secondly, of the property-tax in particular; and, thirdly, with respect to the proceedings which it was incumbent on them to adopt on this occasion. They ought not to confine themselves to the mere condemnation of a tax which violated property, which oppressed industry, which invaded domestic privacy, and which was therefore obviously inconsistent with every principle of English liberty; but they ought to trace this evil to its true source; to show it in its connection with other public grievances, and to call upon the Legislature for that great and ultimate remedy, which could alone ensure them permanent independence and prosperity. The Chancellor of the Exchequer had, in his place in the House of Commons, not long since, broadly intimated his intention of proposing a renewal of this tax. It was not for them, therefore, to criticise any partial defects, or any apparent inequalities, in the principle or operation of such a measure; because the reply of the Chancellor of the Exchequer would certainly be, that he was much obliged to the persons who suggested these objections, he was anxious to supply defects, and to remedy inequalities; and therefore, by removing in some degree their objections, he trusted that he should receive

their unanimous approbation. It was their part to proclaim their hostility to the entire scheme, as subversive of their native and hereditary rights.—No doubt such a situation of things might arise, that burthens, otherwise intolerable, would be borne by a great and free country with patience and alacrity; but a tax which was utterly irreconcileable to the spirit of a free constitution, which was no less severe, and grinding, and oppressive in its administration, than it was inquisitorial in its principle, could be justified in no case, nor under any combination of circumstances. The Chancellor of the Exchequer might, if he pleased, with an insulting sneer, observe, that he feared the gentlemen assembled in the Palace Yard had not sufficiently taken into their deep consideration the whole state of public affairs, the foreign relations, the financial difficulties of the country. Miserable, in his opinion, was the fate of a nation, and cheerless its prospects, when a popular meeting should deem it expedient to penetrate the *arcana* of Government, or to busy itself with any other topic than such as belonged to its province —the assertion of its own unalienable and constitutional rights. These rights they were as capable of understanding and valuing as any lawyer at the bar, or any minister of the Crown. His worthy friend (Mr. Wishart) had truly told them, that two-thirds of every man's income were now absorbed by a variety of taxes, before the property-tax came into application; and that this tax, applying to the no-

minal whole, was, in practical effect, a tax not of ten but of thirty per cent. He certainly was not apprehensive that, after the fortunate conclusion of peace with America, the present tax could be any longer continued; but he had his fears that it might be produced in another shape, or in curtailed proportions. He should not be much surprised to see another property-tax, a young cub, which, as he had before observed, might be perfectly innocent in its infant state; but by the time that its claws and teeth should attain their full power, would have grown up into a formidable and ferocious monster, that might devour them and their children. It was their duty, then, to be vigilant at the outset, to crush the evil in its birth, and to set an example to other meetings, which might secure co-operation in the salutary work. In the year 1793, in a memorable petition, it was brought home to the House of Commons, that they did not represent the sense, nor express the voice of the people; purposes which they were instituted to accomplish, and rights to which the constitution had given every Englishman a claim. What had been the course of public events, and of national suffering, since the House thought proper to disregard this important demonstration?

"The Government of that day had plunged us, under the pretence of a short war, into a contest of twenty years' duration; and for the sake of interfering in the internal regulation of another kingdom, and of extinguishing opinions which

were not acceptable to their taste, had entailed on Great Britain that tremendous load of taxation under which she was now bending. When James II. adopted unconstitutional measures of taxation, the nation, almost with one voice, stood up against him; yet the country did not then owe a single million, and was now indebted in a thousand. He repeated it to them, the country now owed a thousand millions. The condition of France was comparatively happy; she had no such debt; plenty and cultivation reigned over her soil, and the consequence was, that thousands and tens of thousands were repairing to enjoy there what they could not obtain in their native land—an easy and comfortable subsistence. The rich were going to extend their comforts, the poor to acquire the means of living at all. This was the state to which the country was now reduced; and to restore it to a better condition, it was first necessary to restore purity to their representative system; without this, future wars and future taxes were in store. Was it possible for them to forget, that a British minister had once entertained the project of imposing a tax on capital, and that the petition of the Westminster electors against it had at least been serviceable, in saving the country from that infliction? In reference to the general system of taxation, what could be more obnoxious than the measure for redeeming the land-tax? That tax took away one-fifth of the landed property of the country, and had been sold. Four other such operations would

comprehend, and vest in the Crown, the whole landed property in the realm. He had intended to have offered to them several other observations, but the state of the weather, and of his own health, induced him to abstain. He had only to thank them for the patience with which they had already heard him."

In the course of the meeting, he proposed the following resolution:—"That our thanks are eminently due to our representative Sir Francis Burdett, for his dignified assertion, on all occasions, of the rights and liberties of his country; fully assured, that when that country shall generally listen to his patriotic voice, those rights and liberties will be speedily restored."

On the subject of Major Cartwright's public speaking, it may be here remarked, that he never was, nor aimed at being an orator, in the common acceptation of the term. He neither attempted to amuse nor to dazzle. His sole object was, if possible, to convince; and his speeches were consequently more remarkable for sound good sense, expressed, as in the foregoing speech, in clear and correct language, than for the usual characteristics of eloquence.

His style of public speaking was as uncompromising as the tenets he inculcated; full of the subject which engrossed his mind, he was too apt to give his hearers credit for an equal portion of zeal;

and it must be confessed, that he occasionally measured their patience by his own. This circumstance gave occasion to the hireling press, employed by the various political factions of the day, to treat his speeches with contempt, and to misrepresent the impression they made on the public; the fact, however, was, that though he never sought for applause, he generally obtained it; and though he was perhaps not listened to with as much pleasure as some other more brilliant, and more admired speakers, his observations were invariably received with that deference and respect to which his character, and his long study of the science of government, entitled him.

This subject naturally leads to that of his private conversation, which was remarkable for simplicity of diction, and a scrupulous regard to truth. His expressions were generally forcible and pithy, but never exaggerated: all high-flown affectation of sentiment, all extravagance either of mirth or of sorrow, and every unnecessary or insincere compliment, were not only strangers to his tongue, but discordant to his ear, so that he always, but with great gentleness, checked the appearance of unbecoming vehemence, in the manners and discourse of all the younger members of his family, who so frequently met beneath his patriarchal roof.

He was, however, as has been already remarked, a great promoter of cheerfulness, and would often in the company of ladies, indulge in a playful and lively conversation. He was not an habitual talker,

and though long experience, industry and attention had made him well acquainted with most of those subjects of importance which fall under the observation of a reflecting mind, he seldom volunteered his advice or opinion. When solicited, indeed, no man was more willing to assist others, by imparting with clearness and accuracy the knowledge he possessed.

Always looking on the bright side of human nature, and desirous of putting the most favourable construction on the actions of others, he was averse from all detraction, slander and personal abuse, nor did he ever encourage, by his example, that indiscriminate invective in which the generality of politicians, on both sides of a question, too frequently indulge.

Mr. Wyvill having on the 15th of October, 1813, published his address to the Yorkshire freeholders, in which Major Cartwright found himself alluded to in a manner not to be mistaken, he was under the painful necessity of expostulating with his old friend in a series of letters, to which he affixed the appropriate motto of "Strike, but hear."

"My old friend", says he in a letter to one of his family, dated 1st November, 1813, "has once more in an angry tone flown out in some pretty sharp though anonymous censures of my political conduct, in an address to the freeholders of Yorkshire, about an intended meeting for parliamentary reform, religious liberty, &c. The insinuations are

too pointed for any one having the least political knowledge to misapply, and which will no doubt be applied by at least 60,000 Yorkshiremen ; I am therefore engaged in a short series of letters, but not anonymous letters, in answer."

In these letters to Mr. Wyvill, he vindicates himself from the insinuations thrown out by that gentleman, as well as by others, of wishing to stimulate a lawless mob to acts of violence, of associating with " General Lud", and various other unfounded accusations ; appealing to Mr. Wyvill himself, who had known him for nearly forty years, to say whether he had not taken every opportunity of arguing and expostulating with the higher and highest classes, from the gentleman to the peer, and from the peer to him who occupies the throne. " This charge," says he, " in your public address, of having exclusively resorted to the lowest classes of society, was, to be sure, unfortunately applied." —Letter XII., 5th Oct. 1815.

He calls the attention of the public in these letters, to a very extraordinary omission in Wyvill's political papers, and asserts that he was imposed upon by those who supplied him with the materials.

On the day on which the united deputies met in 1780, the 25th of March, four resolutions were passed, the second of which was as follows : " That it is the opinion of this Committee that the members of the House of Commons should be *annually*

elected to serve in Parliament": which resolution is in Wyvill's political papers wholly omitted.

Major Cartwright being himself possessed of the necessary documents, also gives the proceedings of the 6th of April in the same year, which proceedings had been partly omitted by Mr. Wyvill, who was certainly misled in his enquiries by those to whom he trusted for information.

Notwithstanding this paper-war, it will be seen that friendly communications afterwards took place between these early political associates, who, though they occasionally followed different roads, had both in view the same great objects, namely, the welfare and liberty of mankind.

"TO J. CARTWRIGHT, ESQ.

"2d June, 1815.

"MY DEAR MAJOR,

"Westminster has not only not been disgraced, but, according to my notion, acquired great honour by the last meeting *. The resolutions, the petition, the whole conduct is worthy, in my humble opinion, of the best times of the country, and cannot, I should think, fail to do us great good at this very important time. The friends of despotism will begin to suspect they have worse enemies in the world than Buonaparte, or even the French Republic was, and that the army of principles is still on its march. I was pleased to find my letter,

* That which took place in Palace-Yard on the 29th December, 1814, on the property-tax.

which I was obliged to write in a great hurry, and had hardly time to read over, was conceived exactly in the same sense you had on the subject, so that we could not have done better had we been a month concerting our plan. I shall probably be obliged to come to London for a day or two soon, we can then talk over our future arrangements; you in the mean time may be collecting any thing which you may judge good to bring forward as enforcing or elucidating the great subject. Pray remember me kindly to all yours, and make them the compliments of the season, which I hope you have spent pleasantly, and that you will spend many more so.

"Yours truly,

"F. BURDETT."

Major Cartwright wrote on the 11th of this month, January, to Sir F. Burdett urging his early attendance for presenting the Westminster petition, and being at the presentation of that from Middlesex, prior to the return of Lord Castlereagh with his report, and to Vansittart's finance project, as the most favourable interval for exciting public attention.

The opinion of that enlightened nobleman the late Lord Stanhope on the subject of the property-tax, ought not to be suppressed.

"Chevening, 25th Jan.

"DEAR SIR,

"I wrote yesterday to Mr. Harris to decline

being in the chair at the Mary-le-bone Meeting, and by that answer to him I shall abide. But at the end of my note to him, I gave him a very useful hint, and a valuable proverb says, 'a word to the wise'. My idea is distinctly and unalterably this, confirmed by many years of attentive and instructive observation, namely,—1st, That the various oppressions, of various kinds, under which the poor labour, and even the most useful among the middling classes, arise from not being duly and sufficiently represented in Parliament.

"2dly. My idea is also, that not the merely speculative grievances, however really correct, but the actual permanent pinching and evident grievances, should, as effects, be constantly connected with their real and true *cause*. Now, any question relative to the repeal or discontinuance of any particular tax, being a question, however proper, only for a time, has not that permanency which I consider as wanted.

"But the property-tax in one of its important relations is precisely of the complete description above specified. I mean that part of it which is technically called the tenant's property-tax, because it not only has, as applied to it, all such objections as may be urged against the property-tax generally, but it has moreover, and remarkably, an objection to it in *principle*, which may cause it to be felt by consumers, in common with other existing taxes; to which as actual and pinching, and also as in principle from the imperfection of our laws, are not

only evident but *permanent* causes of very just, intelligible complaint, and which I likewise consider as grievances most unconstitutional; for what is unconstitutional, if a grievance is not so which tends to deprive the poor of their health and perhaps even of their life, and of that of their starving families? Now it is evident that the tenant's property-tax tends to compel the farmer to raise his corn and grain on the consumer; and has in its *principle* the same kind of objection to it as exists against those most impolitic and more permanent taxes on candles, soap, leather, coarse sugar, beer, salt, &c. The price of meat is affected by the tenant's property-tax in like manner, as also the price of beer on account of the same, as well as on account of the taxes on the malt and on the hops.

"My reasoning is as follows:

"Taxes of the above descriptions on the necessaries of life, and most especially on the people's bread, are in every respect injurious, and tend also to injure this nation's export-trade.

"The tenant's property-tax is one of them, and tends to oppress the poor and the middling classes for the reasons aforesaid.

"The *cause* of all this is, that the householders &c. have not in the constitution, as deteriorated at present, the right which they ought to have."

Another numerous and respectable meeting on this subject was held at Hackney on the 16th of

February, at which Major Cartwright expressed himself as follows :

" We have this day three distinct subjects for our consideration ; namely, 1st, The evil of unconstitutional taxation ; 2dly, The exemplification of that evil in the property-tax ; and 3dly, Our remedy.

" Touching unconstitutional taxation—I will not begin with a dry legal definition, but with an expressive picture:

" The two members of our county, now present, are both men of wealth : suppose them to have converted their wealth into merchandize, to have freighted a ship, and to have embarked in person on a trading voyage. In the next place, suppose these gentlemen with their treasure to fall into the hands of pirates and to be carried into Algiers. Here, then, under the supposition of these gentlemen having been reduced to slavery and by that circumstance exposed to pillage at the discretion of robbers, you have a true picture of *unconstitutional* taxation.

" The whole difference between taxes which are constitutional and the contrary, is this : constitutional taxes are the gifts and grants of a free people, after the once English fashion ; unconstitutional taxes are the plunder of persons previously enslaved, after the fashion of Algiers.

" Happily for us, Gentlemen, there is one attri-

bute of that house in which taxes originate that hath escaped modern corruptions; namely, its title. To this day it is called "The Commons of the Realm in Parliament assembled", and this title may guide us to important truths.

"Who are the Commons? Exclusive of the King and the Lords, are not all the rest of the community the Commons?

"The assembling of the *people* not being visible to the vulgar eye, may require explanation; I have therefore to request an indulgent hearing. It is, Gentlemen, an eternal principle of truth, that there can be no liberty where a people do not *consent* to the laws under which they live.

"It is equally true that for the purpose of giving this consent the people of this widely-extended realm cannot assemble in one hall. Therefore by the nature of the case, this business of consenting to laws must be transacted through representation appointed to that end.

"Representatives, as the word imports, do not make laws and impose taxes by any original and independent power of their own, but in the name and on the behalf of the PEOPLE, by whose fiat and for whose profit they have been created, whose authority they exercise, and whose gifts and grants of money they vicariously, as mere deputies and attorneys, carry into effect.

"A different pretension has, I know, been set up; but in support of my argument that the con-

sent of the PEOPLE is essential to the validity of law, the authorities are endless; I shall, however, cite only a few."

After quoting Sir Thomas Smith's "Commonwealth of England", and "Blackstone's Commentaries", I. 171, Com. I. 185, Com. IV. 8, he proceeds to shew in what respect a tax may be unconstitutional; and in particularizing that tax, the repeal of which was one of the objects of the meeting, he gives an opinion which he has often been heard to express in conversation, viz. that in some respects it was less objectionable than many others, because it is not levied on the poor, and because it draws from the great landholder, even if he be an absentee, a fair contribution, and "compels the wealthy miser who lives like a beggar, to pay like a gentleman."

"But though", continues Major Cartwright, "we admire this single feature, yet as we would not submit to a tyrant, having in his face a handsome feature, so we would not wish for a like reason to submit to this tyrannical tax."

After some farther observations on taxation, in the course of which he remarks, that "no one ought to shrink from any burthen of which a house of commons really chosen by, and equally representing, the nation, shall declare the necessity," he proposes his resolutions.

These resolutions, which were seconded by Mr. Bentley, and opposed by Mr. Mellish, M.P. for

the county, were, as well as the petition, carried with only four hands held up against them.

" TO T. NORTHMORE, ESQ.

" 10th March.

" From causes which you may guess, the opposition to the Corn-Bill was put off to the last minute. At length I was asked what I thought, and what part I would take. While the petition was engrossing, I sent Brooks thirty-five blank sheets, with the printed form of petition that was circulated in Yorkshire, that they might be deposited for signatures with those against the Corn-Bill. They were soon filled, and I was applied to for more. I posted to the printer, ordered a hundred to be instantly struck off, and gave a list of the places of deposit, and where they would get signed.

" At such a moment, the freezing coldness of a certain party would drive me mad, if I had not ten times the patience of Job.

" I know nothing of the story alluded to: chiefly occupied in my arm-chair, I see and hear little of the news of the day.

" How unfortunate my loss of eight hundred copies of the Ægis ! They should at this moment have flown in all directions—my purse is not equal to the task, or there should be a new edition printed immediately, to give away.

" * * * has expressed himself in favour of representation co-extensive with direct taxation: but

he can unsay as well as say—a mere feather of faction, blown this way or that as the wind changes."

It has been frequently said that the Hampden Club owed its final dissolution to the imprudent zeal of Major Cartwright, by which many of its members were disgusted. This may very possibly have been the case, but it should seem by the following letter from a learned gentleman now deceased, as well as by many other circumstances, that their gradual secession was quite as much to be attributed to inertness as to the superabundant zeal of Major Cartwright. In the letter to Mr. Northmore, 24th December 1814, already quoted, it appears that the non-attendance of the members frequently prevented any business being done. Had they distrusted his prudence, it is rational to suppose that they would have attended more regularly, to check his proceedings.

"TO JOHN CARTWRIGHT, ESQ.

"April 15, 1815.

"MY DEAR SIR,

"I have so long been firmly persuaded, as you well know, that the Hampden Club will never be instrumental in procuring that most important of all earthly acquisitions, a reform in Parliament, that I am not at all surprised at the contradictions and vexations you experience in endeavouring to impel it into some specific and decisive measure. Week

after week, month after month, year after year rolls on, and we still continue in the same torpid state in which we at first set out. Every effort to stimulate the club to the attainment of the sole object of its institution, is sure to be paralysed by evasion, apathy, and neglect; indeed I am at a loss to account for the motive that instituted the club at all, being certain that conviviality formed no part of its object. In point of fact, it is a 'vox et præterea nihil', and the sooner it is consigned to the tomb of the Capulets the better.

"Twice a-year the club dines together through the medium of an advertisement, but why they dine together, or for what purpose they are associated, is almost as unknown as was Buonaparte's intended flight from Elba. This will never do; either it must be made operative and continually so, or abandoned altogether."

France being at this time (April 1815) occupied in settling her constitution, after the convulsions to which her political existence had been so long subject, it appears by some notes in Major Cartwright's hand-writing, that he was occupied in considering by what means the freedom of that country might be best preserved; and the following observations may possibly interest those who turn their thoughts to the science of civil government:

"That a wide extent of territory is unfavourable

to liberty may be inferred from the circumstance, that the patriots of France (who were therein imitated by those of Spain) have thought it necessary to adopt the representation of a representation—according to the proverb, 'if you would have a thing done, commit it to your servant; if you would have it well done, do it yourself.' It is true that the work of legislature requires to be done by representation; but if the work be turned over to your servant's servant, who does not see that responsibility to the cause of fidelity vanishes like a shadow, and that evil deeds and ill-work must be the certain consequence?"

On the 15th June 1815, being the six hundredth anniversary of the day on which King John was compelled to sign Magna Charta, he, whose attention was always alive to every circumstance which he thought likely to promote the cause he had in view, set on foot a meeting in Palace-Yard, to celebrate that event.

On this occasion he proposed a petition to Parliament, complaining of the rejection of one which had been agreed upon in that place three months before, and declaring that the denial of justice was contrary to the law and the constitution as emphatically declared in Magna Charta.

At this meeting it was resolved, "That our representative Sir Francis Burdett, Bart. is, if possible, doubly endeared to us by the alacrity with which he consented to take the chair, when

difficulties and delays were thrown in the way of this our constitutional meeting, and for his dignified conduct therein.

"*Resolved*, That the petition in support of the sacred right of petitioning, and for promoting a radical reform in the Commons House of Parliament, which has been read, is adopted, and that the same be presented to the House of Commons by our representative.

"*Resolved*, That our cordial thanks are hereby given to our able and venerable advocate, Major Cartwright, for the constitutional petition he has this day proposed to us in support of our rights."

"TO T. NORTHMORE, ESQ.

"June, 1815.

"Touching what you say respecting this city, I have the greatest anxiety to be instrumental in case of a vacancy, in the introduction of a real, good radical reformer*.

"If not practicable to do that, I should be ready to stand in the gap, hoping that at a period so critical in respect of reform, a decision might be made favourable to that great object.

"Should you happen to have a fit of idleness,

* The writer often heard Major Cartwright at this time express a wish that Mr. Northmore should, in case of a vacancy, stand for Westminster; which shews, that notwithstanding the pleasure he would himself have experienced in being member for that city, his *chief* anxiety was for the election of a staunch radical reformer.

or a fit of impatience, you may call for an explanation of my seal. It is emblematic of liberty founded on law, defended by arms as well as by trial by jury, typified by twelve stars. The name and dates (Alfred and 1215) require no explanation. The winged lyre signifies the celebration of the English constitution to the whole world*. The swords and the spear are not, like the cap, mere emblems of liberty, but infinitely the nobler emblem, carrying with them a real cause for liberty, to which the cap has no pretension."

Major Cartwright having been induced to think that his presence in Scotland might assist the cause of parliamentary reform, left London in the Leith packet, and arrived at Edinburgh on the 21st of July. The day after his arrival he addressed a letter to a gentleman of rank in that country, in which he says:

"It is with extreme satisfaction that I now learn the good spirit, in respect of constitutional freedom, of this well-informed and reflecting people. I am also highly gratified in being given to understand that the reform we both seek, has, Sir, in you a zealous friend, that is, one who is willing to act as well as to argue in its favour.

"Your experience among our politicians in the higher classes, must have shewn you how much more within that circle, there is of talking plausibly than of acting consistently.

* Major Cartwright had a stamp made with this device, which was used as an ornament to the binding of his political books.

" Having myself, in the course of nearly forty years, had ample opportunities of observing among what orders in society the interests of reform can be pushed with the best prospects of final success, it is my conviction, founded on experience, that if we hope for good, we must, for a season at least, work for the most part by means of the middle classes. The higher then, in due time, will see the necessity, for their own reputation, of taking, in the matter of reform, their proper places.

" These are so much more at their ease in a pecuniary sense, as less and later to feel the inconveniences arising from ill government and oppressive taxation; besides which there are likewise other causes, which have operated in all ages and nations to excite in them a feebler stimulus in respect of state reformation, than among those of less opulence.

" Governed by my present information, I mean to proceed to-morrow by Glasgow, &c. where, as it has always been the rule of my conduct, I shall render my experience and knowledge of facts subservient to the exertions of the native patriots, who are the proper actors; and if, Sir, either in person or by letter, I can be of any use in the cause to which we both, by subscribing to the principles of the Hampden Club, stand strongly pledged, you may freely command me.

" Had every shire in the kingdom but one man of rank who had wisdom, virtue and spirit enough to assert the cause of reform, it would soon triumph.

"And should you, by a conduct different from that of our members in general, put them in mind of redeeming their several pledges to exert themselves in their several counties, I really believe you would render your country a more important service than has ever been rendered by any entire parliamentary opposition-party that has figured on the public stage since the period of the Revolution.

"Knowing the extent of the erroneous notion which has proved the greatest obstacle to reform, namely, that it is *impracticable*, and knowing also, that the petitions now in my house, upwards of 500 in number, are all effects of that notion having been removed by argument, I am induced to hope that my service in the same way may continue to be of use.

"Bristol lately sent us a petition signed by nearly 11,000 persons, and we have others with about 15,000 names."

Major Cartwright's arrival in Scotland appears to have occasioned a considerable sensation in that country, and it is evident, by a reference to some publications of this period, that great efforts were made by the opponents of reform to render his exertions nugatory. Among many others, the attacks made upon him in the 'Edinburgh Correspondent' were remarkable for their virulence, and afford an amusing specimen of the writer's ignorance of his opinions, for he is described as recommending

as a model for the imitation of this country, the system of representation as established in France.

From Edinburgh he proceeded by the canal to Glasgow, and while in that neighbourhood, visited the Falls of Clyde, of which he thus speaks in a letter to Mrs. Cartwright:—"The upper Fall is exquisitely beautiful, the whole scene in the highest style of the picturesque, being an almost unrivalled combination of grandeur and beauty, equally attractive to the painter, the poet, and the philosopher."

On the 1st of August, a dinner was given at Glasgow by the friends of constitutional liberty, as a mark of respect to the veteran reformer, and he informs Mr. Northmore that "he found there a spirit and intelligence beyond his most sanguine expectations"; and, indeed, such was the anxiety in various parts of Scotland to sign petitions for reform, that he calculated on obtaining five hundred petitions from that country alone.

From Glasgow he returned to Edinburgh, and from thence visited Stirling, Ulloa, Kilkardie, Cupar, Dundee, Arbroath, Montrose and Aberdeen.

On the 23d of August, writing from Dundee, he informs Mrs. Cartwright, "My success has hitherto been unabated*, and except a slight cold, I have been uncommonly well.

* "Major Cartwright visited Scotland during his missionary tour in behalf of reform already alluded to, and his zeal and example acting upon the already-excited minds of the Scotch, produced such effects as might be anticipated. There were several

"In the garden of Mr. Carnegie, of Louer, near Forfar, I this morning saw a true national thistle twelve feet high. As the Latin motto to this armorial ensign signifies in English 'No one injures me unpunished', I conclude this is the tree, and the Scotch bonnet the cap, of Liberty.

"At Brechine, I had a visit from Mr. Maule with Mr. Carnegie, who came here to meet me, and who afterwards met me at Forfar and took me to his house. His family put me in mind of old days at Marnham. Nine children in the house, and two sons in India. I have twice crossed the South Esk where my brother George once spent a year in the house of Sir James Carnegie, for his darling enjoyments of fishing and shooting.

"I wish I could persuade myself that your time was occupied as much to your gratification as mine is."

"TO THE SAME.

"Edinburgh, 18th of August.

"Here I am again, after having completed my intended tour to Aberdeen, throughout which I have experienced a kindness of reception truly gratifying. At Forfar a large party were on the road last Monday evening, intending to draw my little

meetings, particularly near Glasgow, Paisley, and the other manufacturing towns in the west of Scotland, for the purpose of petitioning Parliament, or adopting other measures in behalf of reform in the representation and retrenchment of expenditure."—New Annual Register, 1817, p. 306.

carriage into the town, but this exhibition I happily escaped by having gone that day to Renimuir, where I heard that one or two more petitions might be had. Yesterday again, a similar compliment was offered me.

* * * * * * *

"These are individual specimens of a very general feeling which will have no small influence in the production of petitions, because they are recommended by one in whom they have confidence.

"Thus rewarded for my labours, the abuse of the corrupt and tyrannical is rather gratifying than otherwise, because it only shews that they think I may, in some degree, contribute to the downfal of their wicked system.

"As for the opinion of the unthinking fashionables, it is not worth regarding. No rational being would desire to live in their esteem, until they shall learn to make a right estimate of character."

"Glasgow, 10th September.

"Still every where successful, to the full extent of my hopes. I have been at Paisley and Renfrew with Dr. Gilchrist, of Edinburgh, who is become a radical, and who, as a literary character, active, animated and zealous, will be a great acquisition to our cause."

"Edinburgh, 23d September.

"When, before the eve of my departure from

this city, I perceived that nothing would be done, unless I personally broke the ice, I determined to deliver a lecture on the constitution of England. A few days were necessary for procuring a room. I was yesterday well attended, and well heard. In the evening the necessary resolutions were gone into, and the work will go on well."

"TO THE SAME.

"I have just written to the Duke of Roxburghe, to say, that I will be with him on Tuesday. I have received a pressing invitation to Ireland, but have been obliged to decline going thither. Most sincerely do I condole with you on the loss of your niece. Short has been her career; but we are taught not to repine at the dispensations of Providence. We are all of us approaching the final goal: let us be prepared for the event; enjoying, as we can, the evening of life, with a pleasing anticipation of the morn that is to succeed."

"Fleurs, near Kelso, 27th September.

"I forget whether, in my last, I did or did not mention the lecture on the constitution, which I delivered at Edinburgh. One step more, and your prophecy will be completed, that I shall become a *field preacher*."

"Durham, 11th October, 1815.

"Such has been the extraordinary success of my proceedings, even where counteracting power and

influence have been at the highest, that I wish my pocket would enable me to take a wider range, and that I could have the same companions as at home. Our excellent friend Bowyer*, being in residence, I met at his house with an elegant entertainment and good company. I spent three days agreeably with my friend Losh, at Jesmond (that is, Jesus' Mount), at the side of which there is a holy well, which, in former days cured all diseases, and now affords wholesome water of great purity. I hope you will see him this winter, as I should like you to see the true gentleman of the democratic school."

"York.

"I had formed a plan of operations for this city, but your letter informing me of the illness of my dear child has determined me to proceed immediately to London with as much dispatch as possible."

The same tenderness of feeling towards the writer of this narrative (the mere recollection of which must ever be to her a rich inheritance of delight and satisfaction), also prevented his ac-

* Dr. Bowyer, Prebendary of Durham, Trustee of the Charities of Bamborough, &c. &c. deceased since this work has been in the press. This gentleman, whose long life was devoted to benevolent purposes, has been succeeded in his prebend by the Author of that interesting and delightful work, entitled "Narrative of an Excursion to the Mountains of Piedmont, and Researches among the Vaudois or Waldenses."

ceptance of an invitation from the Concentric Society at Liverpool, who had some months before, in the most flattering manner, elected him a member of their association, and who now wished him to take that place in his way from Scotland. "The attraction of this invitation", says he to the president of this society, "would have proved irresistible, had it reached me before I received the intelligence of the severe illness of one of my family who is very dear to me."

Major Cartwright always looked back upon his tour in Scotland with particular pleasure, and spoke with much gratitude of the hospitality and kindness he experienced. It appears, indeed, that he was greeted every where with the utmost affection; many persons even walking twenty and thirty miles to see him: and, to use the expression of the faithful servant who attended him, "He could not have met with more respect if he had been a prince."

To the person with whom it was left in charge to continue his lectures in Scotland on the constitution, he thus writes soon after his return; and nothing can shew more clearly than this letter, that, in all his undertakings, zeal was tempered by prudence and a nice sense of propriety:

"SIR,

"Apprehending that, in your delicate state of health, the business of your lecture might be as much as you could conveniently attend to, I was

in hopes I had been provided with another person, who, availing himself of the lecture, as drawing together those who take an interest in the constitution of their country, might have devoted his whole time to the important object of petitioning.

" Disappointed in that hope, I must now commit that object, if agreeable, to yourself.

" On account of the alteration in the plan, I now recommend that you select no more matter than will come within the compass of one reasonable lecture, and that you bestow on the other object as much attention as you can.

" It is fit that, while so many are paid with public money for doing public evil, you should have a remuneration for time spent in doing public good; but as this can only be from the funds of private persons, which funds, the necessity of the case requires, should be employed with the utmost economy, I trust you will not disapprove of the rules subjoined, for regulating the remuneration to the service performed, in some proportion to its extent.

" The best security against malevolence and misrepresentation is, to urge upon all who take the business of petitioning under their management and protection, to use their utmost vigilance for preventing all improprieties, such as boys or women, or ill-intentioned persons, inserting fictitious names, or signing the names of others or several others, &c.

" If doubts arise about the House receiving printed petitions, you may inform the parties, that

we hope we are provided against inconvenience on that account. Such petitions are received by the Crown and by the Lords; and the ground on which the Speaker has hitherto objected, is completely fallacious. He first pleaded *rule;* this was proved fallacious: he then pleaded practice, which is equally so. The people have a right to petition in printed form, and it is, for a variety of reasons, the best way. They must not be beat out of it, nor, I trust, shall they."

The person to whom this was addressed, died about two years afterwards, and his widow wrote to inform Major Cartwright that, having been offered a large sum of money to give up to Government the letters which had passed between her husband and himself, she feared that in justice to her family, she must unwillingly accede to the proposal. This intimation received from Major Cartwright the following laconic reply:—"That it gave him infinite satisfaction to find that any letters of his were considered so valuable; and he therefore begged her to make the best bargain she could of their contents."

It appears that he had been again threatened with secessions from the Hampden Club, for in a letter to one of its members, 14th of December, 1815, he thus expresses himself:—

"MY DEAR SIR,

"Let the enclosed copy of a letter to Sir S. Ro-

milly, which please to return, satisfy you, that, on the point of dispute between us, I am immoveable: nay, more, that it is a point on which, to humour no human being, shall I ever be silent, until truth and true liberty shall prevail. I have been told before of *secessions*. In this particular, I conceive you are mistaken; but if not, it can make no alteration in my conduct. If men, either through error or other cause, become bars to the utility of a patriot association, at a moment like this, the sooner they withdraw the better. If, indeed, there be among us persons such as you hint at, what, even according to their own notions, have they ever *done* or *attempted to do?*

"When our country is rapidly sinking into slavery, to do *nothing* for liberty, and to obstruct those who desire to do *something*, is, methinks, an odd kind of patriotism, and a very crooked species of political wisdom!"

Major Cartwright, in addressing himself to a variety of noblemen and gentlemen, in the beginning of the year 1816, fails not to urge on each those peculiar topics by which he hoped to influence their private feelings. In addressing the Duke of Devonshire, he remarks, "To your ancestor, the Earl of Devonshire, it was said, my Lord, at the Court of King William by an intelligent friend of liberty, 'We must have good laws in a *good reign* or never.' To your Grace, I beg leave to observe, that, in the patriot good families to whom we are

pre-eminently indebted for the Revolution, we must now seek allies for recovering the ground which since that memorable event liberty hath lost."

He then proceeds to notice the two important omissions which took place at the Revolution, and which were inconsistent with the declaration of the Prince of Orange, who reproached his predecessor with endeavouring to enslave the nation by means of a standing army. To these two omissions—which were, first, not restoring the national constitutional militia, nor, secondly, providing for constitutional parliaments—he begs to draw the attention of the Duke, and concludes by hoping, that "the great political reformation which had its commencement late in the seventeenth century, may, by the hereditary virtue in the descendants of its original architects, be perfected early in the nineteenth, and that the constitution of England, phœnix-like, may once again spring to life from its own ashes."

To the Marquis of Lansdown, he observes, "It stands, my Lord, on record, as the sentiment of your father, in a letter to the chairman of the Wiltshire committee of parliamentary reformists in 1780, 'That the people of England have, and always had an unalienable, indefeasible right to equal representation, and short parliaments in their fullest extent, upon a stronger ground than that of any Act or Acts of Parliament.' To this effect, that noble person assured me he was ready to

march side by side, and to keep pace with the Duke of Richmond, who it is well known stopped nothing short of annual parliaments and universal suffrage."

On the 23rd of February, a meeting was held in Covent-Garden, in which, as usual, Major Cartwright took a conspicuous part. It appears, also, that during this year, at various times, his attention was engrossed by the rejection in the House of Commons of the printed petitions; against the rejection of which he strenuously argued, as being both unprecedented and unconstitutional.

In a letter to Mr. John Smith, M.P. for Nottingham, who informed him that the House had for a long time refused to receive printed petitions, he says, "If you could obtain for me, from any one of the members you have consulted, or any other person, a reference to the journals, for a single proof of any such refusal prior to the rejection of the Nottingham petitions, you would greatly oblige me."

On the 2nd of March, 1816, a Westminster meeting took place for the removal of the property-tax, and of a standing army in time of peace; at which were present Lord Cochrane, Sir F. Burdett, Messrs. Brougham, Lambton, and Brand.

After Messrs. Wishart and M'Laurin had spoken, Major Cartwright addressed the meeting: "He was aware", he said, "that the measure of a standing army could not be properly discussed or decided on in Palace-Yard. It ought to be decided

on in a parliament duly elected, and by a cabinet under the controul, and watched by the vigilance of such a parliament.

" All freemen, however, had a right to deliver their sentiments on the measures of Government, and there were some things of which they were competent judges. A great Athenian had said, two thousand years before, that a standing army would soon command the state; and an Englishman, Mr. Arthur Young, had given it as his opinion, that an armed government was incompatible with the liberties of the people. A free parliament and a national militia were the real characteristics of our constitution and the safe-guards of our rights."

It is hardly possible, and if it were possible, the recital would be wearisome, to mention all the transactions of the various public meetings originating with Major Cartwright, or in which he took a part. It is therefore to be expected that there will be many omissions of this kind in the work, but enough will appear in its progress, to demonstrate that no opportunity ever escaped him of forwarding the great object of his life:—accordingly we find him at another public meeting at Palace-Yard in the April of this year, proposing a petition for economy and reform, from which the following passages are extracted.

" That Providence has granted to this nation an insular residence capable of defence, and thereby

difficult of invasion; a soil to sustain a numerous population; a climate favouring mental vigour; and an active industry that forms a prominent feature in the national character.

"That this security of situation, this productiveness of the soil, and energy in the people, have been an abundant cause of prosperity, extending our manufactures and increasing our enjoyments.

"That from our early ancestors we have inherited a three-fold legislative system, which, as expressed by Sir William Temple, is 'a government of all by all', and when contemplated in the abstract by a Tacitus, a Cicero, and a Plato, was deemed rather a divine speculation than to be hoped for among men—conspicuously superior to the best of the boasted states of antient Greece or Italy, by a principle to them unknown, that of the people debating and legislating by representation.

"That the grand counteracting mischief and evil principle perpetually operating as an overuling cause why the goodness of Providence, the wisdom of our ancestors, and the energies of the nation, have failed to produce their corresponding effects on its government, is that your honourable House has not a constitutional representation."

On the 21st of September, though prevented by indisposition from attending a meeting held at Palace-Yard, another petition of his composition was unanimously adopted, and a vote of thanks passed, expressive of the sense the meeting enter-

tained of his steady adherence to the cause of the people.

In this year was published a full report of the proceedings of the Hampden Club, drawn up, as is believed, by Major Cartwright. It gives an account of a meeting of the Club which was held on the 15th of June, when Sir Francis Burdett was by acclamation called to the chair.

Letters having been read from Mr. Leach, of Lee Place, Lord Rancliffe, Mr. Wharton, M.P. for Beverley, Mr. Fawkes, &c. &c. Major Cartwright addressed the meeting, and proposed the declaration which will be found in the published report. Sir Francis Burdett having put the declaration to the vote, it was carried unanimously.

At six o'clock the company sat down to dinner, and Major Cartwright in the chair, who gave the following toasts:

"The Constitution and the King."

"The people, and may a radical reform in the House of Commons restore the constitution."

It may not be improper in this place to remark, that in speaking of the constitution, he always meant to designate the *English* constitution, and that nothing was more grating to his ear than its being described as the *British* constitution. In his twenty-second printed letter to Mr. Wyvill, speaking of Dr. Paley, he says, "He calls it the 'British Constitution', that is, *not* the same constitution as that to which our ancestors of Runnimede and the Revolution referred; *not* that consti-

tution to which our Pyms, our Hampdens, our Sydneys, our Seldens and our Cokes, our Miltons and our Lockes made appeal, but a *new* system of government, taking its commencement from England's union with Scotland."

"Perhaps", he observes in his second letter to Sir Francis Burdett, published in the Statesman newspaper, 28th July, 1817, "we may ere long hear that this our English nation hath a choice variety of constitutions, as originally a *pagan* constitution, next a *Christian* constitution, then a papal constitution, a feudal constitution, &c. &c., and finally a Brunswick constitution, which Lord Grenville calls 'the present happy system', and 'the constitution as by law established', and which Lord Ellenborough on the trial of Watson, calls the *regal* constitution of the country."

The year 1816 closed under the most gratifying circumstances to him whom Sir Francis Burdett had just before designated by way of excellence, "*The* honest, true-hearted Englishman": the most flattering testimonies of respect were paid him at different meetings at Birmingham, in Lancashire, &c., but what was much more acceptable to his feelings, were the numerous petitions for reform consigned to his care; and never did any potentate behold with more complacency the procession that was to grace his coronation, than did this too-sanguine reformer survey the coaches employed to transport those vast rolls of parchment which tra-

velled from his house in Westminster to the chapel of St. Stephen's. One petition in particular which came from Manchester, and was signed by nearly forty thousand persons, gave him great satisfaction. In presenting which, Lord Cochrane, not without design, suffered it to unroll, and to drag its tedious length on the floor of the House.

But Major Cartwright's pleasure was of short duration; for an alarm began to spread amongst the supporters of Government, to whom petitions, public meetings, and associations for political purposes, must necessarily be obnoxious.

The report of the secret committee, and Lord Sidmouth's circular letter to the Lord Lieutenants of the disturbed counties, were calculated to throw the country into a state of the greatest dismay, though it was confidently asserted by the gentlemen in opposition, that the very disturbances complained of, had been fomented by the accredited spies of Government. One of the consequences of this general panic was a variety of loyal addresses, among others from the merchants and bankers of London. In one of these loyal addresses, it is said, in speaking of the clubs called after the patriotic Hampden, "That it is never to be forgotten, that whatever injuries real or supposed were experienced by this idol of the people, no extenuation of the crime of fighting against the King, and dying on the field as a traitor, can be found in the laws of God or man."

This alarm, like that in 1794, occasioned severe measures; the Habeas Corpus Act was suspended, and several bills were passed, which were to place all public meetings under the greatest possible restrictions; while infinite pains were taken to connect the transactions of Palace-Yard with those of Spa-Fields, and the Reformers with the Spenceans*.

It having been already noticed that the Union Club was one in which the subject of these memoirs took a particular interest, it becomes necessary to remark, that insinuations having been thrown out that the society was associated with Spenceans, its secretary, Mr. Cleary, addressed a petition to the House of Lords, which was presented by Lord Grosvenor.

This petition stated, that the petitioner having read, in the report of the secret committee, that there had been instituted societies, entitled Union Societies, professing Parliamentary reform, but understanding universal suffrage and annual parliaments, projects which involve not a partial, but an entire, subversion of the British constitution, and that these societies were associated with Spenceans, &c., he presumed to mention, that when the Duke of Richmond brought into the honourable House his bill for annual parliaments and uni-

* The Spenceans were followers of a person of the name of Spence (now almost forgotten), who promulgated the wild system of an equal division of landed property.

versal suffrage, he was not accused of wishing to subvert the British constitution.

" The petitioner was ready to prove that the Union Society of which he was the secretary, whose object was only to obtain a representation according to the constitution, had no connection or co-operation with those societies, whose object was to obtain a common partnership in the land.

" The petitioner wished to draw the attention of the House to the attempt of the secret committee to impute to the Union Society that affiliation of which the London Corresponding Society was accused, with a probable view to measures similar to those of 1794; and the petitioner assured the House he could prove the falsehood of that insinuation.

" The London Union was founded in 1812, by Mr. Clive, Mr. Fawkes, the late Colonel Bosville, Mr. Montague Burgoyne, the present Lord Mayor [Alderman Wood], Mr. Alderman Goodbehere, Mr. Francis Canning, Mr. Hallet, Mr. Slade, Sir Francis Burdett, Major Cartwright, &c.: and the petitioner concluded by hoping that the House would permit his bringing before it all the papers and documents connected with the Society."

It has been conjectured that this petition thus manfully meeting the false accusations of the enemies of the club, had some considerable influence in rescuing several political societies from farther

molestation, and that Major Cartwright and his friends might thus have been secured from again appearing in a conspicuous situation, as had formerly occurred in the trial of Mr. Horne Tooke.

Be this as it may, he was not exempted from much personal censure, both from frightened friends and angry enemies; but this, as usual, seemed to glance by him unheeded, as light missiles against the walls of a fortress*.

Thus strong in his own integrity, and in the purity of his motives, it will not be matter of surprise, that to ridicule, as to censure, he was perfectly indifferent. So far was he from feeling any annoyance from the squibs and caricatures of which he was sometimes the object, that he seemed rather amused and entertained with such as accidentally fell in his way. One song in particular, in which he was humorously described as an old jew selling quack nostrums, diverted him so much, that he bought it to read to his family, and seemed a little disappointed that they did not relish it so much as he expected†.

* An honourable member (Mr. Canning) in his place in the House, not unaptly (as many will be of opinion) designated Major Cartwright as "the old heart in London, from which the veins of sedition in the country were supplied."

† One of the verses was as follows:

"Vill nobody buy my nice annual pill,
Dats to purify every ting nasty avay?
Pless my heart, pless my heart, let me say vat I vill,
Not a Christian or jentleman minds vat I say."

Of the species of obloquy at one period so liberally heaped on Major Cartwright, and which had not even the merit of drollery, the following is a specimen. The cordial thanks of a meeting in Palace-Yard having been voted to Major Cartwright for his perseverance in the cause of reform, the Times newspaper remarked—"We recollect that Gibbon relates, on the authority of contemporary history, that a body of crusaders marched through Europe to the siege of the holy city, with a goose or some such contemptible animal at their head, in whom they believed that something of divine wisdom resided. Our modern crusaders for parliamentary reform seem to have adopted such another leader; but they will not find the chinks produced in the poor old man's body by age, serve to admit any of the intellectual light of that state to which he is approaching."

After the unfortunate issue of the Westminster elections, which seemed, by the apparent abandonment of his friends, to lay him open and defenceless to the attacks of cowardly enemies, this miserable species of attack was again resorted to; but as the writers, in executing the task allotted to them for the temporary purposes of faction, probably bore no ill-will to the distinguished individual who is now no more, and whose merit is no longer denied, it may be gratifying to them to be assured, that, however it might influence others whose minds were weaker and less absorbed in one

great object, on *him* it never inflicted even a moment of vexation.

If, indeed, a feeling of irrepressible indignation sometimes occasioned a cloud on the countenances of his near and dear connexions, it was instantly dispelled by observing the serenity of that placid brow, which never failed to reflect the sunshine of untroubled and conscious virtue.

Notwithstanding a severe indisposition, aggravated by the sudden death of a much loved sister, he published, in the beginning of this year, "Letters to the then Lord Mayor" (Alderman Wood), and pursuing his course with undiminished ardour, he endeavoured, by setting on foot petitions by twenties, to counteract and evade the newly passed acts of Parliament for the restriction of public assemblies.

It is hardly necessary to say that he, who took so early an interest in the cause of America, continued to watch with anxiety her advancement in happiness and freedom. That advancement was indeed a source of the highest gratification to his mind, and as such, constituted one of the great rewards of his political life. The following is addressed to his Excellency John Quincy Adams, Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary from the United States of America:

"4th of June, 1817.

"SIR,

"Having recovered a copy of the second part

of 'England's Ægis', I have now the pleasure to offer for your acceptance that essay, as well as another, entitled, 'An Appeal to the Nation.'

"The former being an outline of a very antient and most admirable system of national defence, may possibly be of use to the statesman who contemplates the organization of such a system for the service of his own country. It should seem, however, that such a system can neither be complete, nor secure, if merely made the subject of *law;* and that it ought to be in form, as it must ever be in spirit, an essential, a vital and inseparable part of the constitution of a free people.

"It is not likely that the author of this essay should live to witness, in his own country, the adoption of a law to revive and to regulate its proper militia; but, Sir, if in yours, a comprehensive organization of its militia, should become an object of legislation, it is to be hoped that due attention will be bestowed on two objects; namely, 1st, to guard against natural decay, by a complete periodical *renovation*, once in five years, or other not distant period; and 2dly, by infusing into the law such a principle of self-inforcement, that nothing short of the dissolution of society, should occasion its discontinuance in time to come. It is to be observed, that the closing of all annual breaches, occasioned by death or otherwise, ought also to be provided for, by some simple and easy mode short of a general renovation, but which, within such a

period as five years, should sufficiently counteract the principle of *perpetual decay*.

" With regard to the last-mentioned essay, it may be of use to future legislators who shall have new governments to model. It may cause such legislator to avoid a great error, observable in several modern instances; namely, that of not sufficiently distinguishing between a *constitution* and a *code of laws;* whereby those two objects have been far too much confounded together. Hence it becomes frequently difficult to understand a constitution, as well as to amend defects, to which it must be liable, if confounded with law.

" A constitution, provided its visible body have the necessary organs of government, and its soul, all the principles of liberty and justice, cannot occupy too small a space. It will then be perfectly understood, and become what it ought to be, a sure criterion for deciding on the merit or demerit of proposed laws, in reference to that freedom which ought to be the end and scope of every constitution.

" Hence it is obvious that a constitution and a code of laws ought ever to be kept perfectly distinct.

" If the writer's memory do not fail him, there is, in some of the American Governments, the defect which has been noticed, but at the same time, a provision for periodical revisions having been also introduced, that imperfection, if such it have been experienced, may in time be removed.

"You have, Sir, my best wishes for your safe return to that happy land, where real freedom gives a reasonable assurance, that whatever measure shall be proposed by known wisdom and tried virtue for the people's welfare will be adopted.

"With much respect, I bid you farewell,

"JOHN CARTWRIGHT."

From this gentleman, now President of the United States, he received an answer as follows:—

"TO JOHN CARTWRIGHT, ESQ.

"Craven Street, 5th June, 1817.

"SIR,

"I have to return you my very cordial thanks for the favour of your letter of yesterday, as well as for the two valuable volumes with which it was accompanied, and the paper written in April, 1776, exhibiting the rare, I had almost said the only, example of an Englishman who understood and openly stated the real merits of that great question upon which the continued union, or the severance of Great Britain and her colonies depended, but from which all, or the infinitely greater part of the nation shrank, or averted their eyes. Had the principles of that paper been those of the British Government and people, they and the North Americans would yet have been one nation.

"The distinction between a constitution and a code of laws, is, perhaps more familiarly understood in the United States than elsewhere, because, in

the administration, both of the general and of every separate State Government, it is necessarily and daily an object of practice. The powers of all the legislatures are limited by the constitutions, and the exercise of those powers is continually marking the boundaries which they cannot transcend. There are only two exceptions of states which have formed no written constitutions, but whose governments are still organized, as they had been by their charters before the revolution. The application of the system developed in 'England's Ægis', I am persuaded may be highly useful to the United States, and I wish they may derive the benefit from it which will be in their power.

"I am, with great respect, Sir, &c.

"JOHN QUINCY ADAMS."

In July, 1817, Major Cartwright addressed seven letters to Sir Francis Burdett in the Statesman newspaper, and it may be observed, that nothing can more strongly exhibit the peculiar determination of his mind, than the style of these letters; his language always increasing in boldness, as the difficulty or danger of the times called forth the circumspection and timidity of others*.

* The determination of Major Cartwright's character was always shewn in the uncompromising style of his writings. Speaking of his series of letters to the Duke of Bedford in 1805, Mr. Horne Tooke in a letter beginning "My dear Cartwright, more dear to me than ever!" says, "I do not hesitate to give you my most deliberate thanks and praise for this production; I know not which most to commend, its skill or its courage; but for its

"TO T. NORTHMORE, ESQ.

"18th of August, 1817.

"I was glad, by yours of the 2d to find that my letters to Sir Francis, so far as you had seen them, were likely as you thought to do good; at present two only remain to be published. 'How long', you ask, 'will the gang stand against public opinion?' Not very long, I trust; especially as, in the Black Dwarf, we have got a giant in talent on our side. On Thursday last, at the meeting called by Owen, to propose his Utopian plan for 'The Prevention of Crimes and the Formation of Human Character', I, for the first time, heard the author of the Dwarf in the character of an orator. His speech was a fine specimen of genuine eloquence, without any thing affected, high-flying, or smelling of any shop, party, or faction. But I presume you have had his double trial for libel, in which you would find his defence most masterly. But what I prize in Wooler infinitely more than his genius, is his character. An intimate of his, a medical gentleman of very superior attainments, assures me that Wooler is a man of excellent moral character; and we have good reason to believe that

principle, I still am and always was ready in any useful manner to lay down my life. The gout, which at this time is furiously upon me, abates not one jot of my resolution; but the gout affects only my limbs: I fear you will find it in the heads and hearts of most of my countrymen. However, "I, bone, quo virtus tua te vocat. I pede fausto."

to probity and genius he has in addition a courage not to be appalled by any danger. You must not, my friend, allow yourself to imagine that Wooler's personal compliments to the old man, in his Black Dwarf of the 13th, have obtained him the above panegyric; for, prior to the appearance of that paper, I held him in the same estimation. I had visited him in prison, both before and after his trial; had invited him to my house, cultivated his acquaintance, and offered him the use of any books in my possession.

"Besides my seven letters, I have been preparing a circular letter from the Hampden Committee to the members, to accompany a report of the late audit, and calculated to draw into our association men of property and rank; but I have not yet been able to collect a committee to adopt it. I incline to augur well in favour of its effect, as, on reading the MS. a gentleman of very large property, and till lately a mere whig, immediately became a candidate for admission.

"The crisis, in my judgment, is very favourable for effecting an union with the radicals, of the better men among the whigs, and I am meditating on means to promote it. Besides the circular, I have had some discourse, and mean to have more, with individuals. The suspension brought up once more, as one risen from the dead, old Sir Philip. When the circular can appear in print, I mean to send a copy to the Duke of Bedford, and then to touch upon a measure to be adopted by a few per-

sons of rank, that would, as I feel assured, induce the Regent to a change of men and measures. At the same time I shall suggest that joining the Hampden Club will be the best declaration of public principle, and the best ground of confidence that can be adopted.

" Touching election-matters, I incline much to an opinion that Parliament will be dissolved this autumn, as Ministers cannot get on without a property-tax, which this Parliament will not give them. Believing that you must depend on the London voters, and that you are too wise to incur the expence, I do not expect to see you member for Exeter. Beggar as the Exchequer is, I have no doubt it will find paper in plenty, to meet reformists in every borough where there is the least chance of a popular election. The present men, being in desperate circumstances, are in all particulars playing a desperate game: and, bankrupt as the Treasury is, they would not scruple to squander two millions for securing a parliament wholly to their mind; having an eye, in particular, to the exclusion of every troublesome man of genius, knowledge and integrity.

" Do not lose sight, in Exeter, of petitions by twenties. That is the string now to be touched, for counteracting all that the corruptionists have done.

" If this string do but vibrate to my expectation, it will become a main-spring for the destruction of the machinery of the borough-faction. The idea

has made so lively an impression on the intelligent in Ireland, Scotland, and the populous parts of England, that the best hopes may be entertained. The Black Dwarf of the 13th, cannot fail to recommend its adoption. The very day that paper had appeared, Sir Robert Wilson told me he would draw up, sign, and promote such a petition, &c.

"As soon as I can see my way, I do really think of making you a visit of some weeks, of viewing Little Cleve, &c. To a removal from head-quarters at such a distance, there are objections. It remains to be considered, whether my services to the great cause can be performed without being at head-quarters. On private considerations I could be well content to reside at a distance; but private and personal are very different ideas. What is private is merely the opposite of public; but personal objects are those most near the heart of the person.

"The grand cause of removal being on account of the health of my adopted child, it is to be seriously considered, whether a Devon climate, even at the elevation of Cleve, would be decidedly favourable. And as, according to Old Benjamin, 'Three removes are as bad as a fire', they are not to be rashly determined on. I mean, however, to reconnoitre.

"The reasons of the Baronet for not moving his bill, I can only conjecture. There is, however, nothing in the case to prevent a publication of my bill, which would only differ from his in two or

three clauses. I should go the whole length of considering suffrage as a personal right, and I should introduce the ballot. But my printer's bill is already too terrific. I must therefore pause; although I believe the bill would most materially serve our cause.

"As my good wife is a better manufacturer than myself of congratulations, and the expressions of affection, I have left them to her, only assuring you and Mrs. Northmore, that she speaks the mind and feelings of

"Yours truly,

"JOHN CARTWRIGHT."

On the 23d of March a meeting was held in Old Palace Yard, where the following resolution was unanimously adopted: "That the cordial and respectful thanks of this meeting be presented to Major Cartwright, the patriarch of parliamentary reform, who, by the exertions and perseverance of nearly half a century, has contributed so powerfully to disseminate clear ideas, and keep alive the interest of this great question; while the spotless purity and virtue of his own life have been such as would have done honour to the noblest cause."

In the month of November Major and Mrs. Cartwright executed their intention of visiting the friendly roof of Mr. Northmore. The arrival of this visitor at Cleve was announced in a most amusing manner, by one of the Devonshire ministerial papers. At the head of the paragraph which

gave the alarming intelligence, appeared, in large letters, the emphatic word " BEWARE!"

In the year 1817 was written " Universal Suffrage Vindicated, in a Letter to the Rev. R. Fellowes", and " A Bill of Rights and Liberties, or an Act for a Constitutional Reform of Parliament"; in which are given minute directions for the conduct of popular elections. In this work is given an engraving of the polling-table, for the purposes of the ballot; a model of which he caused to be constructed, and kept in his own house, for the inspection of his friends. On the subject of the ballot, in p. 382 of his " Constitution Produced and Illustrated", he says, " In the present extreme inequality of property, tenants, tradesmen and others are dependent on the wealthy for bread and for justice. Without the ballot, as the *means* of free election, they are liable to persecution, and exposed to ruin. Therefore, as *means* to the *end* of being represented, they have a right to the ballot."

Though in the Edinburgh Review for June, 1818, it is spoken of as a suggestion of Mr. Bentham, Major Cartwright had advocated the ballot from the earliest period of his political researches. A fact related to him, in conversation, by President Laurens, of South Carolina, about the year 1777, had probably confirmed him in the opinion of its utility. Mr. Laurens said, that forty years prior to their conversation, an alarm was taken at certain indications of a disposition, on the part of

some wealthy gentlemen of that State, to influence, by money and patronage, the elections of members to serve in the House of Assembly; which alarm produced a law for introducing the ballot: and Mr. Laurens assured him, that from the time of its introduction to the period of their conversation, the slightest suspicion had never once been breathed on the purity of the elections in South Carolina.

"TO F. CANNING, ESQ.

"11th May, 1818.

"MY DEAR SIR,

"You will early receive notice of an extraordinary meeting of the Hampden Club for the 26th, on business very important to the object of our institution.

"From what passed the other day, it is sufficiently plain that there is an intention to move for our *dissolution*. In one quarter, this inclination seems to proceed from disappointment respecting attendance and exertions; in other quarters it proceeds, as I conjecture, from hostility. Be these working as they may, when I know that the Hampden Club, lamentably defective, cold, and inefficient as it hath in reality been, has by its name, and the use that has been made of that name, been very instrumental in generating the petitions for reform of more than a million of men; who have recently shewn by a revival of their petitions after the infamous stretches of power to

silence them, that the cause of reform is sound at heart, and a knowledge of its principles daily increasing;—when I see all this, it would in my judgment be in the highest degree disgraceful, even to baseness, should our club commit a felo de se; deserting, in its associated capacity, the cause of liberty at such a crisis. Determined therefore am I, if but two others shall be of the same mind, to resist to the utmost any such desertion of duty.

"If there be among us any so overcome with spleen or despondence as to incline to such an act, they, I think, may be made to see its want of wisdom; and if there be others, so wedded to the nonsense of what is called moderate reform, as to desire our dissolution, let them, if they like it, withdraw themselves without extinguishing the very name of the Hampden Club, to the great triumph of a despotic faction.

"For counteracting the brewing mischief, I yesterday prepared two resolutions for moving at the next meeting.

"If you have not yet read 'Bentham on Parliamentary Reform', you have a great treat to come. With his consent, Wooler, of the Black Dwarf, is publishing the work in numbers, at a reduced price.

"In haste, yours truly,

"JOHN CARTWRIGHT."

Parliament having been dissolved, a new elec-

tion took place in the month of June in this year, when Mr. Douglas Kinnaird being proposed by the friends of Sir Francis Burdett, for that gentleman's colleague in Westminster, it was thought by many that Major Cartwright's superior pretensions were thereby disregarded.

He was therefore again proposed for that city, and though his particular opinions prevented his offering himself as a candidate, he was not only willing, but extremely desirous to undertake the trust if confided to him.

The sanguine expectations of his friends, however, proved fallacious; the committee which usually conducted the affairs of Sir F. Burdett's election were unfavourable to his pretensions; some of the members of that committee objecting to his advanced age, and others, (as they themselves very frankly informed him,) being unwilling to lose the service of his pen, of which, as long as his powers remained, they well knew no circumstance would deprive them.

Though far from insensible to the slight he had experienced, Major Cartwright was very unwilling to foment disunion among the friends of reform; and apprehending that the cause might be injured by a division of interests, he, on the 19th of June, being the second day of the election, thus addressed his zealous and steady friend Peter Walker, Esq. :—

"DEAR SIR,

"In the present crisis of our country, when no

man of reflection can entertain a hope that public liberty can long survive, unless the cause of a constitutional reform in the representation of the people shall find fearless assertors of their rights, it was reasonably to have been expected, that nothing would have caused disunion among the electors of Westminster in the choice of representatives, in whom, on that fundamental point, a perfect confidence could, from experience, have been reposed. Events, however, have produced such a disunion.

"You well know the public grounds which forbad me to approve of, or to concur in, a measure that was adopted—a measure from which you, as well as myself and others, foresaw what has happened.

"From what you have just stated, I sincerely hope that the parties who erred are now sensible thereof; and, as I should consider the loss of Sir Francis Burdett's election as a serious misfortune to the public, I beg that so far as any pretensions on my behalf may be supposed to stand in the way of his success—if such opinion should be entertained—they may be withdrawn.

"Leaving this matter wholly subject to your discretion,

"I remain, dear Sir, &c.

"JOHN CARTWRIGHT."

Though not acceptable to the persons to whom the management of the Westminster elections is usually committed, and who spoke loudly of the

cruelty of exposing his health to the fatigues of a parliamentary session, it is probable that by the mass of the electors, his disinterested conduct on this and every other occasion was properly appreciated; for never was he received with greater marks of applause, than when on the 29th of June he appeared on the hustings to give his vote for Sir Francis Burdett. That gentleman's election had hitherto proceeded more languidly than on former occasions, but the appearance of his venerable friend was supposed to operate favourably on the minds of the electors; and when the poll closed on the 4th of July, the numbers were as follow:

Romilly, 5339.	Maxwell, 4808.
Burdett, 5238.	Hunt, 84.

As the subject of these elections, in which Major Cartwright was, to use his own emphatic words, "unceremoniously dropped, and cast off as a worn-out garment, to clear the way for younger and untried reformists", can afford no satisfaction to the friends of political integrity, they will be passed over with all possible brevity; not, however, without mentioning one circumstance very uncommon in an electioneering contest, and on which the mind rests with pleasure and satisfaction; namely, that on no occasion did either the friends of the tory or whig candidates, on the hustings or in their hand-bills, speak of the venerable patriot but with the respect he so well deserved.

Major Cartwright had, at this period, the satis-

faction of receiving petitions for reform from various quarters, accompanied by the most gratifying expressions of esteem and admiration towards himself.

In a letter to the President of the Concentric Society at Liverpool, written about this time, he says,

"My advanced age, Sir, and the habits of my mind, have, I trust, in some measure, fortified me against the misleadings of vanity, in the shape of even so high a compliment as that you have paid me; but it is gratifying in no small degree, inasmuch as it evidences the progress of truth in the cause of reform.

"I have the satisfaction, Sir, to report, for the information of the Concentric Society of Liverpool, that a petition for radical reform was the other day received from the city of Bristol, with nearly eleven thousand signatures; that there are good grounds for expecting like petitions from Scotland; that from North and South Wales great expectations are raised; and that in Ireland the most intelligent and animated friends of liberty are laying the foundations of reform-societies, with a rational hope that the Catholic body will soon see their error, in expecting to reap before they have sown, and so join with the reformists here in claiming the one thing needful, as the sole foundation of right in every other respect.

"Perhaps it may not be amiss to mention, also,

that we have in the metropolis a society for employing the press in favour of parliamentary reform."

The remarkably hot weather which prevailed during the July and August of this year will be remembered by many persons. Its effects, combined with unremitting exertion and anxiety, so greatly enfeebled the constitution of the venerable reformer, that his family entertained the most alarming apprehensions on his account; and unremitting attention was necessary to recruit his apparently exhausted frame. When, on the 18th of August, a large party of the friends of radical reform assembled at the Horns' Tavern, Kennington, for the purpose of doing honour to its oldest Champion, he was in a state of physical debility, which hardly gave any hopes that he would ever be able to resume his political labours. On this occasion four hundred persons sat down to dinner, and the Honourable Douglas Kinnaird, who had been one of the late candidates for Westminster, was in the chair.

That gentleman, in proposing the health of Major Cartwright, said, "If any thing could heighten the gratitude and affection which they must feel towards him, as their uniform, undeviating and persevering friend, it was the knowledge that he was now suffering on the bed of sickness (*loud applause*). He should, before he proceeded any further in addressing them from himself, read a

letter of apology which he had received from the Major, excusing himself for not attending the meeting; and, he was sorry to add, that, to that letter, the Major was only able to affix his signature." He concluded with expressing his gratitude for being called to the chair; regretting, at the same time, that it was not filled by talents more adequate than his own. He then proposed "the health of Major Cartwright, the venerable Father of reform, and may he live to give the death-blow to corruption." The toast was drunk with three times three, and accompanied with the loudest applause.

Mr. Cleary stated, "that he had seen Major Cartwright in the morning, who then mentioned his most anxious wish to attend the meeting; but as that was impossible, he had sent an address in manuscript, which he (Mr. Cleary) hoped the company would permit him to read. It insisted on the necessity of radical reform, and recommended the introduction of a bill for that object into Parliament by Sir Francis Burdett. Something tangible, on which the public mind could be fixed, was wanting. When Cæsar was killed, the speech of Mark Antony over his body had little effect till he spoke to the people of the will of Cæsar. In the like manner, if Sir Francis Burdett would bring forward a bill, an object would be distinctly presented to the consideration of the public; and there would soon be a general cry of 'the bill! the bill! Burdett's bill! We will have Burdett's

bill!'" The address concluded with proposing the following sentiment, to be drunk by the company as a toast:—"Take your choice—a civil government, or a military despotism;—in other words, Burdett's bill, or Castlereagh's bayonet."—This being drunk, the next toast was, "Sir Francis Burdett, and the Reformers of England."

Sir Francis Burdett said, that, "after the very eloquent eulogium which they had heard from the chair, upon his friend Major Cartwright, in every word of which he agreed; and after the eloquent letter which was read by Mr. Cleary, little remained for him to say. At the same time, he felt that he should shew but slight respect to the gentlemen who had honoured him with such marked approbation, when his health was proposed, if he did not make some observation on the subject in which they were so deeply interested. With respect to the object of the meeting, it combined feelings both of a public and private nature, most gratifying to his mind. He had never attended any meeting with greater satisfaction (*loud applause*). Major Cartwright was so well known to them and to himself, that it would be unnecessary to dwell upon his merits, if he had not been selected for attack, with a view to deprive him of that weight which he ought to possess in the public mind, and which it was the interest of the country he should possess. Finding that his acknowledged worth, his high character, his undisputed integrity, would admit of no abatement, they

charged him with having grown old; they represented that his intellects had failed; but it would ill become a feeling public—it would never be countenanced by a British public, at any time—that an individual who had fallen into a state of superannuation, after a life of active service in their cause, should be designated by contemptuous epithets. In addition to this, the charge was not true. The paper read to them by Mr. Cleary was not the production of a mind that could be so described. They might call him unaccommodating, or obstinate, or bold, or mischievous; or, to crown all, jacobinical, or any other name they pleased, with more propriety than the contemptible epithets bestowed upon him—(*loud applause*). The principles he maintained were manly, and he had maintained them in the course of a long and honourable, and because honourable, he would say, a GLORIOUS existence"—(*loud applause*).

Major Cartwright having sufficiently recovered from his serious illness to leave London, made a round of visits among his relations in Kent; and having been much pleased in the course of his journey with the scenery of Tunbridge Wells, he resolved on spending there the months of November and December.

While at Tunbridge Wells, he addressed a series of letters to the Duke of Bedford, which have been admired as specimens of fine writing, as well as of close reasoning.

In these letters he particularly notices the attacks made upon him by a writer in the Edinburgh Review, and complains of the unfairness of holding him up personally to obloquy, as a man of wild and untenable opinions, without a single quotation from, or comment on, the work which was (professedly) the subject of criticism.

Major Cartwright having, in a letter to Lord Holland, mistranslated the title of Prynne's Brevia Parliamentaria Rediviva, the reviewer triumphantly asserts that "the great apostle", as he is pleased to designate Major Cartwright, could not possibly have read the work, or be supposed to possess any knowledge on constitutional subjects. It is however evident, notwithstanding this mistake, that Major Cartwright had read and studied its contents (probably through the medium of a translation), since he frequently referred to it in his works, and particularly in his letters to the Lord Mayor, in the year 1817, wherein he gives a quotation from it, under the title of "Prynne's Parliamentary Writs." Though it has been a general rule in this work to avoid the introduction of letters without the knowledge of their writers, yet the following short extract from one addressed by Lord Holland to Major Cartwright on this subject, is so creditable to his Lordship's candour, that no apology seems necessary for introducing it. "You will not", says he, "think me capable of taking any advantage of a mistake so candidly acknowledged, and so immediately rectified. You

justly consider liberty to be a more useful and more agreeable study than Latin, and neither its general principles, nor the practical enjoyment of it in modern times, are anywise connected with the Roman language; nay a total disregard of legal and monkish Latin, much less the casual mistake of a phrase in it, such as yours, is in my humble judgment, no great reproach on the learning or taste of a gentleman or an author."

Besides the letters to the Duke of Bedford, Major Cartwright published in this year letters to Sir Francis Burdett, as chairman of the committee for the sufferers under the Suspension Act.

In a letter to Sir Charles Wolseley from Tunbridge Wells, he writes:

"You say you have read my letter, speaking in the singular number, to the Duke. I presume, therefore, you have only read the first. The original publication is in the Black Dwarf; as it is not fair to expect a publisher to make room for such essays without some advantages, I take sixty papers whenever one of my letters appears. This, in addition to the regular number of the Dwarf sold by the editor, enables me to give an additional circulation to the letters, to the extent which my scanty purse will allow.

"Respecting the election, I did not suffer any thing personal to myself to warp me from the line which I at that time judged most proper for the public service. But I have no scruple in saying to

you, that the cause of radical reform was in the conduct pursued towards me personally, undermined and betrayed.

"If you take in Cobbett's Register, you will see what he says on the subject; if, however, he thinks I am under a deception, he is deceived: my forbearance arose from tenderness to the public cause. I leave the right interpretation to time: but whatever may be the conduct of others, let us steadily, to the best of our knowledge, perform our own duty."

During his residence at Tunbridge Wells, he experienced a severe shock in the melancholy death of Sir Samuel Romilly, for though he had never been in habits of intimacy with that distinguished lawyer, he held in the greatest estimation both his character and talents; and considered his death as a great national loss.

This event having occasioned a vacancy for Westminster, the friends of Major Cartwright again proposed his standing for that city, with what success will be seen hereafter.

The year 1819 was on many accounts, an eventful one to the subject of these Memoirs. "Perhaps you know," says he in a letter to Mr. Northmore early in this year, "that certain of the friends of liberty at Exeter wrote on the 16th of November last to Sir Francis Burdett, expressing a wish that your old friend should be put in nomination, to represent Westminster in the room

of the deceased Sir Samuel Romilly. At the same time they did me the honour of informing me by letter of their having done so.

"The persecution of Carlile for selling Paine's 'Age of Reason', is said to be at the suggestion of the Society for the Suppression of Vice. I never before read that work of Paine, because I conceived that he was handling a subject he did not understand, but that I may the better comprehend the views of our political saints, I shall immediately get it.

"I am now drawing near the conclusion of my letter to the electors; it unfolds all that I can say with self-respect on the late and pending election. With every good wish to Mrs. Northmore, and an old man's blessings to all my little friends,

"I am, &c.

"JOHN CARTWRIGHT."

The High Bailiff having informed Major Cartwright that he was on that day (13th of February) put in nomination, and desiring to know if such nomination were with his knowledge and consent, and whether he had any committee or agents authorized by himself, received from him the following answer:

"TO ARTHUR MORRIS, ESQ., HIGH-BAILIFF OF
"WESTMINSTER.

"DEAR SIR,

"I am greatly obliged to you for the favour of your note. Mr. Bowie, not long after retiring

from the hustings this day had called upon me, reporting that he had signed a paper presented to him by your deputy, to certify that he had seconded the nomination of me, which having been done in a hurry, he could not positively say might not have contained the word *candidate*: but he left me intending to inquire, and in case the word were in the paper, he would correct the mistake into which he had inadvertently fallen.

"Having thus explained, I have distinctly to say in answer to your obliging inquiry, that I am not a candidate to represent the city of Westminster. That I certainly did understand that there was an intention of nominating me, and that to such of my friends as have inquired of me, I have invariably signified that if my fellow-citizens should think fit to elect me, I was willing to serve them: but no one had the slightest authority to say or to intimate that I was a candidate; and I have farther to assure you, that I have not appointed or authorized any agent or other person to act on my behalf; leaving all such of the electors as might wish to give effect to any such nomination of me, to manage such matter as their own concern, according to their own discretion.

"I remain, dear Sir, &c.

"JOHN CARTWRIGHT."

In the midst of an election, in the result of which he could not but be greatly interested, since to his private friends he declared that he considered a seat for Westminster a higher distinction than a

patent of nobility, he received news of the dangerous illness of his elder brother at Mansfield. He accordingly hastened to his bed-side, and remained with him till the 26th of February.

"TO MRS. CARTWRIGHT.

"MY DEAREST AND BEST FRIEND,

"I have the pleasure to report that I think my brother much better; he makes very affectionate inquiries after all at No. 17; and though he gave me a little scolding in his way, for being at the trouble of so long a journey, I am glad to see that he is pleased with my coming.

"His voice is strong, and though not much inclined for conversation, can occasionally talk with much animation of Hudson's Bay and a North-west passage. The chief thing I observe a deficiency in, (for the medical attendant is a man of skill and experience,) is an inattention to have in readiness suitable articles of nourishment. I am not much skilled in such things, but have been of some use in this respect."

Major Cartwright's hopes in his brother's amendment were of short duration; soon after his return to town, Captain Cartwright was again attacked by severe illness, and on the 11th of March he expired in the 81st year of his age.

Captain Cartwright was possessed of uncommon vigour both of mind and body; his journal of "A Sixteen Years' Residence in Labrador", has been

long known to the public, and though from the nature of the subject, it contains much tedious detail, it cannot be perused without interest, as the work of a man of naturally strong, though uncultivated talents, of great observation, and unimpeached integrity. In early life, he served as aide-de-camp in the German war under the Marquis of Granby, to whom his activity and energy rendered him very useful; and it is probable he might have risen to considerable eminence in his profession had he not, as soon as peace left him at liberty to follow his inclination, preferred to military idleness, an adventurous life amidst the snows of Labrador.

In the latter part of his life he accepted the office of barrack-master at Nottingham, which he held for many years, till finding himself too infirm for a service of that nature, he retired to Mansfield in the year 1817.

His energy of mind continued to the last, and only a few months before his death, he was busied in proposing to the Hudson's Bay Company, various plans and contrivances for hunting, &c. and nothing but increasing infirmity prevented his offering his services to put them in execution.

His features were handsome, and his complexion blooming. His Herculean frame retained, even in age, a peculiar air of dignity, and although great part of his life had been spent in hardy exercises and rough pursuits, his manners in company were courtly, and his conversation agreeable. Though differing so materially in politics with his brother,

whose forbearance on these subjects he certainly did not fail sometimes to exercise, their mutual attachment continued through life, and Major Cartwright was not so much absorbed in political speculations as to be prevented from entering with apparent pleasure into those discussions on hawking, bear-hunting, wolf-catching and deer-tracking, in which he had once taken an almost equal interest.

The result of the election, which took place on the 6th of April, 1819, it need hardly be said was unfavourable to Major Cartwright; it occasioned many kind expressions of regret and surprise from his friends in the distant parts of the country. Among a variety of flattering addresses, numerously signed, from Paisley, Dundee, Manchester, Coventry, and other towns, was one from Boston, which, as coming from a place where the Major had been personally known to the inhabitants for many years, must have been very gratifying to him to whom it was addressed.

In an address from Liverpool, it is said, "We cannot deny ourselves the pleasure of presenting you some testimony of our esteem and gratitude; and we embrace this opportunity of apparent neglect on the part of the electors of Westminster, as the fittest in which your obliged countrymen may present, and that in which you may most satisfactorily receive, the tribute of their heart-felt thanks.

"That your wisdom will properly appreciate all the circumstances of the late contest for the vacant

seat in the representation for Westminster; that you will see in them nothing to abate your long-lived zeal for the cause you have so nobly and so unremittingly supported; that you will see nothing in these circumstances calculated to shake your confidence in the final success of your principles, we are well assured."

The address concluded thus, "To you, excellent Sir, and to a few virtuous individuals like you, it belongs to brave the threats and the frowns of power, and to despise the allurements of corruption. You will have your reward in the gratulation of your own heart, in the fervent regard of some at least of your cotemporaries, and in the grateful recollections of posterity.

"We are, with profound respect and attachment," &c.

It was during this election that a misunderstanding took place between Major Cartwright and Mr. Hobhouse; and the former conceiving that he was treated with unmerited disrespect, expressed himself in terms which shewed that the honour of the veteran was not to be attacked with impunity.

An explanation, however, took place, highly creditable to the good feeling and candour of the younger candidate, and a friendly acquaintance afterwards subsisted between them. Mr. Hobhouse himself mentioned the circumstance at a meeting which was held at the Crown and Anchor on the 20th of June, 1825, for taking into consideration

the best means of promoting a subscription for erecting a public monument to the memory of Major Cartwright, and in the handsomest manner bore testimony to his noble conduct in the matter alluded to. Indeed the singularity of two rival candidates at the close of an election, converting a subject of mutual displeasure into an intercourse of kindness, is worthy of notice; and on the part of Major Cartwright, marks the entire absence of those feelings which many in his situation would have felt towards a young and (till then) untried competitor.

When, some years afterwards, Mr. Hobhouse was voted into Newgate for what was entitled a breach of privilege, the Major, as he had often done before in the case of political offenders*, visited that gentleman in prison, not to condole with, but to congratulate him, and the following anecdote, as characteristic of his never-failing zeal and energy, must not be omitted.

It happened accidentally to come to his knowledge that a friend of that gentleman's family had represented, or intended to represent, very forcibly to his father and himself, the danger to which his health was exposed by confinement and want of

* Among many others, Mr. Cobbett, when imprisoned for his remarks on the flogging of militia soldiers; Sir Charles Wolseley, whom he twice visited at Abingdon; and finally Sir Francis Burdett, when sent to the King's Bench, for a letter to Mr. Brooks on the outrage at Manchester; a letter which Major Cartwright in addressing Mr. Bentham on the 27th of August, 1819, designates "as above all praise."

exercise, and that it would be very desirable, as well as easy, to shorten the period by some sort of recantation or acknowledgment. Scarcely was Major Cartwright informed of this, than he set off for Newgate, determined if he saw any probability that such advice should prevail, to urge strongly the propriety of submitting to any inconvenience rather than purchase his liberation at so dear a rate. On his return home, however, he remarked with a smile, "I soon saw that my errand was unnecessary; the young man is firm."

The Hampden Club may in this year be considered as having died a natural death, occasioned by gradual decay. "Not a single member," says Major Cartwright to Mr. Northmore, "your perverse and obstinate friend excepted, having attended the May meeting of the club."

On the 30th of June he left his house in James Street, and removed to No. 37, Burton Crescent, the situation of which he considered better suited to the health of the writer of these memoirs, a change which she had afterwards the gratification of hearing him remark proved also beneficial to himself.

An occurrence in the life of our reformer is now approaching, which will of course be very differently regarded by different persons. By some it will be considered as a violent attack on established customs and laws, as emanating in a wish to excite anarchy and disaffection, and infringing on our "present happy constitution"; by others

it will be ridiculed as an attempt without end or aim, sure of defeat, and deserving only of derision. To the first may be opposed the general character and principles of one who had no motive or interest to excite confusion and anarchy in the state: to the last it may be remarked, that every attempt at reformation becomes idle and unprofitable in the eyes of those in whose opinion wisdom and success must inevitably be synonymous.

Had Hampden's resistance to the unpopular measure of ship-money ended as it began, with his single effort, it would have doubtless appeared too absurd and visionary to have been noticed in history; and yet it may be reasonably supposed that the conduct of that zealous patriot was not entirely the result of previous calculation and arrangement *.

Having said thus much, the plan which has been hitherto pursued, throughout the work, will be still adhered to; of inserting each circumstance in chronological order, and of leaving every reader to form, from those circumstances, the conclusions which best coincide with his own peculiar habits of thinking.

Major Cartwright finding that it was the intention of some persons at Birmingham, to urge in a manner never before attempted, the claim of that town to be represented, took the opportunity of a

* A friend has suggested, that Mr. Wilkes's resistance to the practice of issuing general warrants may be also considered as a case in point.

long-promised visit to Sir Charles Wolseley, to visit Birmingham on his way. His object in so doing was to induce them to change, in some degree, their mode of proceeding; that is, to substitute the word legislatorial-attorney for that of member, and to choose one such legislatorial-attorney in lieu of four; and instead of claiming a seat, to empower the person so chosen to present a letter to the Speaker, and thus, as he expressed it, "to attempt a new mode of application, by sending a petition in form of a living man, instead of one on parchment or paper."

With those concerned (excepting Mr. Wooler), the writer believes he was not even personally acquainted; a circumstance which seems to show how improbable was the charge subsequently made of a conspiracy between the parties. He left London on the 8th of July, and arriving at Birmingham, he thus writes to Mrs. Cartwright:—"I am very glad I came down, as I think I have been of material use.—I have declined the chair, or even appearing at the hustings. To-morrow I shall write after the meeting is over, which I have no doubt will be conducted with perfect unanimity and quietness."

The meeting accordingly took place in the manner he expected, but by a circumstance which will be mentioned hereafter, he was obliged to take his seat on the hustings, where, however, he had no other part in the business of the day, than ac-

knowledging in few words the vote of thanks to himself, which was carried with acclamation.

From Wolseley Hall, on the 17th of July, he writes —" Sir Charles and I returned hither from Knutsford the evening of yesterday. I have had earnest invitations from Nottingham and Manchester, but have excused myself from visiting those places, for I was not aware that my appearance would do any good, whereas at Birmingham, I thought I might be of some use.

" I shall visit my friend Mr. Canning for a couple of days, in my way to town. Pray send a line to Lord Semphill, to request he will assist me in procuring a halfpenny, coined early in the present reign, which, if I mistake not, bore a cap of liberty on the wand of Britannia, before she was armed with a trident. Consult also another friend of ours how to come at an accurate description of the king's state-coach at the beginning of this or any other reign since the Revolution, so as to ascertain whether the cap of liberty made one of its ornaments. As what passed about the cap of liberty at Stockport is likely to be brought against Sir Charles, it may be of importance to shew that in former times, and those still so modern, such had been the practice of royalty. As the Cheshire Sessions commence on the first of September, there is no time to be lost in these inquiries. I went with Sir Charles when he gave bail, but mine, as I live in another county, was of no avail.

"Wolseley is exquisitely beautiful. The river Trent bounds the garden. From my infantine associations, I could not help feeling a sort of filial attachment to that old friend of my youth."

From Wolseley Hall Major Cartwright proceeded to Leamington, where, after spending a few days there with his wife and niece, he returned to London—great therefore was their surprise, when on the 9th of August, only a few days after his departure, he suddenly returned to Leamington. Having received intelligence that a bill of indictment was preparing to be preferred at Warwick on that day, against him and his late political associates at Birmingham, he determined to meet the charge, and by this promptitude prevented the execution of the warrant which it was intended should have been served upon him in London*.

Leaving Burton Crescent at four o'clock in the morning, he arrived early the same day at Leamington, a distance of ninety miles, which, to a man in his eightieth year, must be considered a very extraordinary exertion. He did not, however, appear fatigued, but exhibited the same calm cheerfulness of manner which was his usual characteristic.

A note which he had prepared to send to Mrs. Cartwright, in case his journey had been delayed, will probably interest the reader.—

* Some of the Government papers went so far as absolutely to assert that he had been arrested in London, and taken in custody to Warwick.

"MY DEAREST AND BEST FRIEND,

"Understanding that I am threatened by the borough-mongers with an accusation at Warwick to-morrow, I send you Wooler's Gazette of this morning, to prevent your being alarmed, as at the worst nought but a little trouble and expence can ensue; but I trust all will end in smoke.

"If I am to be called into court, I shall be prepared with respectable bail.

"Sinner as I am against despotism, I am not sure that my noble Warwickshire cousin would like to appear in that character.

"Believing that I have of late done more good to the great cause, than for forty years before, I shall think very lightly of what can be done against me; and I entreat that you and our Fanny will not allow this matter to disturb your repose. My good sister takes the affair very heroically.

"I am going to leave at Carlton House my letter to the Prince; which, if it do nothing else, ought to make the borough-mongers a little ashamed of themselves, and give fresh spirit and energy to the reformers.

"Your affectionate

"J. CARTWRIGHT."

The substance of the indictment was as follows:—The first count charges the defendants "George Edmonds, Charles Madocks, John Cartwright, Thomas Jonathan Wooler, and William Greathead Lewis, with being malicious, seditious, evil-minded

persons, and with unlawfully and maliciously intending and designing to raise disaffection and discontent in the minds of his Majesty's subjects, and intending to move them to hatred and contempt of the government and constitution as by law established," &c. &c.

"To wit, on the 12th of July, 1819, and on divers other days before and after, with force of arms, at Birmingham, did contrive, conspire, and confederate together with divers other disaffected persons, and unlawfully, to elect, nominate, and appoint a person to be the representative of the inhabitants of Birmingham," &c. "That in pursuance of the said conspiracy with divers other persons, to the number of twenty thousand, for the purpose of hearing divers scandalous and seditious speeches, resolutions," &c.

The second count charges the conspirators with "devising and intending as aforesaid, to traduce and vilify the government and constitution as by law established, and to move the people to hatred and contempt of the government and constitution as aforesaid."

On the 12th of August Major Cartwright tendered his bail, in the persons of Francis Canning and Peter Payne, Esquires, and on the 14th he and his family returned to London.

The remainder of the year was spent as usual, in active exertions in his favourite cause, nor did the prosecution hanging over his head appear for a moment to occupy his attention. Deeply inte-

rested for the sufferers at Manchester, he took an active share in the meetings which were held, first at the Crown and Anchor on the 21st of August, and afterwards at Old Palace Yard on the 2d of September, when he was appointed treasurer for the subscription then set on foot, an office which he afterwards declined.

"TO JEREMY BENTHAM, ESQ.

"27th Aug. 1819.

"MY DEAR FRIEND,

"The letter of Sir Francis Burdett is above all praise. I rejoice that Westminster is so prompt in meeting on this great occasion. She, I trust, will set an example worthy of the whole kingdom. But the occasion demands that even the bloody atrocity at Manchester, while written in words of fire that shall cause the hearts of Englishmen to burn within them, ought still to be treated as a mere illustration of the necessity of restoring the constitution, civil and military; for hath not that already been a direct consequence of the actual subversion of that constitution?

"If this moment be rightly improved, a great light shall burst forth, and our country shall be saved. The Baronet's letter, in unison with the general feeling, will have prepared the public mind for a welcome reception of constitutional truth. But the crisis requires the pen not only of patriot virtue, but of enlightened statesmanship and of profound philosophy. Let England and mankind have the benefit of yours!

" Most sincerely do I now wish that the task of preparing two bills for restoring the constitution in both its branches, had been undertaken by some one more competent to the work than the volunteer whose zeal in the cause prompted him to the attempt.

" It would, at this crisis, have been an incalculable advantage, had the undertaking of the work stood on the loftier height of reputation for talent and learning, that so the nation might willingly have followed the banner of such a leader in their salvation.

" But as Providence sometimes works by inferior agents, and as, on the present occasion, when not invention, but restoration,—when not original planning of a legislative architect, but the repairing of a pupil (provided fidelity to the original plan was secured)—was all that was immediately indispensable, nothing more, as to the work itself, was perhaps wanting; although a great name might have commanded the aid that is necessary for a full accomplishment of the ultimate design and object in view.

" But if great names shall now sanction the work, such as it is,—if those whose approbation can stamp on it the necessary value for currency, shall confer that value, all may yet be well. The late Lord Liverpool remarked, that ' Our Saxon ancestors, as much as they are ridiculed for their ignorance and barbarity, were possessed of one piece of knowledge, superior in real use to many

modern refinements, I mean that of wisely constituting civil societies; their military establishments were, however, the distinguishing parts of their government.'*

"The two bills alluded to would, as I presume, completely restore the plain Saxon fabric of our freedom; which done, taught by our experience the fatal consequences of wanting a written delineation of our constitution, with a correspondent code of ascertained and unpervertible *law*, these might, and I presume would be, early supplied.

"I send for your perusal a letter to C. B. Wilbraham, Esq. towards the end of which you will see what is said of one of the two bills above spoken of, as a rallying standard to the reformers. As such it has been expressly pointed out at Birmingham. I would to God it had been, as it mighth ave been, the bill of him for whom it was originally formed; or I would it had been that of one of even still higher authority in the science of legislation, who has in fact given its principles a foundation of adamant.

"But what might have been most desirable, is not the question, but what, with the materials in our hands, is practicable. If the existing bill for restoring the civil branch of the constitution be

* "Though very briefly, you have learnedly stated and distinguished the landmark of our constitution, and the encroachments made on it, by justly referring the principles of liberty to the Saxon system, and by imputing the corruptions of it to the Norman."—Lord Orford to Governor Pownall. See Correspondence, Vol. IV. p. 347.

but competent to the end in view, is it not the best policy of the crisis to hold it as a rallying standard ?

" I am well aware of the narrow views too often taken of extraordinary events, and of cobbling expedients usually adopted by incomprehensive minds, but I hope that the work of master-spirits only will be visible on this occasion in Westminster.

" Yours truly,

" JOHN CARTWRIGHT."

" TO P. PAYNE, ESQ.

" Burton Crescent, 8th Nov. 1819.

" DEAR SIR,

" When on Saturday I reached my house from Westminster Hall, it was too late for reporting to you by the post, that the recognizance into which, in a manner I shall never cease to recollect with much gratitude, you entered into for my appearing the first day of Term in the Court of King's Bench, was now at an end, by my having so appeared and pleaded to the indictment of me, which had been found a true bill by the grand jury of Warwickshire.

" I have therefore now the honour of communicating that information, and at the same time of requesting your acceptance of a recently published introduction to a bill of free and sure defence; or an act for a constitutional revival of the county power, which I trust would be found at the least as good a security for our lives and liberties, as yeomanry cavalry on the present system.

"My friends in general are very anxious that the trial of the others and myself who are included in the same indictment, should, if possible, be removed from the county of Warwick to Westminster-Hall, on account of the prejudices which, in the country, might be expected to operate against an impartial decision.

"So far as the other parties are concerned, I should be well pleased with any thing that should produce such an effect; but so far as respects myself, I feel to prefer a trial in the country; as the question is of a nature, if well managed, to disarm prejudice, and to diffuse truth and right principles where a knowledge of them is most wanting; and I incline to think that to these ends, a trial in the country, rather than in London, may be more likely to do good.

"I have the honour to be, &c.

"JOHN CARTWRIGHT."

On the 12th of November, twelve resolutions drawn up by Major Cartwright, were adopted at a meeting of the Middlesex freeholders, assembled to take into consideration the transactions of St. Peter's Field, at Manchester.

As the organ of that meeting, he addressed a circular-letter to the several noblemen, who were requested to present to the Prince Regent the declaration of the freeholders, respecting the conduct of the magistrates and yeomanry of Manchester.

The office of presenting this declaration was politely declined on the various pleas of illness, prior engagement, and disinclination, by the peers to whom the circular was addressed.

In the September of this year, Major Cartwright re-published Sir William Jones's tract on suppressing riots*, his speech to the assembled inhabitants of Middlesex and Surrey, and his Dialogue between a Gentleman and a Farmer, for publishing which in the year 1784, the Dean of St. Asaph had been prosecuted.

Though there was every reason to suppose the prosecution for the alleged conspiracy at Birmingham thus seriously begun, would not lightly be relinquished, Major Cartwright had great difficulty in believing that it could be persisted in. Finding, however, he was mistaken in his calculations, he began early in March to prepare for the trial, by sending subpœnas to those persons whose evidence he thought might be serviceable to him, or—what was in his eyes of much more importance—to the cause he advocated.

"TO THE DUKE OF ROXBURGHE.

"4th March, 1820.

"MY DEAR LORD DUKE,

"You have probably heard of my having been indicted for conspiring against the constitution. For some time I considered the matter as a mere

* For Mr. Granville Sharp's opinion on the same subject, see, in the Appendix, No. XI., his letter to the Speaker of the House of Commons.

insult, and a contemptible endeavour to degrade me in public opinion ; and so thought some of my acquaintance ; but I have lately had notice of trial, and likewise good private intelligence, that every effort will be made to convict me.

" The business is called a conspiracy against the 'constitution as by law established', and against ' the House of Commons as by law established' ; and the accusation includes sundry days and times before, as well as after, the 12th of July last. The same device was played off against Horne Tooke ; and I well remember giving evidence in his favour, of facts as far back as fourteen or fifteen years. Not knowing how far my prosecutors may choose to rake into my past life and actions, and what passages in my writings they may choose to quote or to pervert, it is necessary, and I am advised, to show what has been from first to last my political career.

" To this end, I should show in what associations I have acted, and in what company—one of the first was, as a deputy, together with Mr. Wyvill, your Grace, and many other men of rank and character. Afterwards, in the Society for Constitutional Information, with the Duke of Richmond, Sir William Jones, Sir Samuel Romilly, &c. &c. Then again, in the Society of the Friends of the People, with the Duke of Bedford, Earl Grey, Mr. Tierney, &c. Then in the Hampden Club, with the Duke of Norfolk, Sir John Throckmorton, &c.,

and in the Union for Parliamentary Reform according to the Constitution, with Sir John Throckmorton, Mr. Clive, Mr. Francis Canning, &c.

" In consequence of this line of defence, your Grace will have a subpœna, and trusting to your heart-of-oak constitution, I earnestly hope you will be able to attend at Warwick. As you may be detained a few days, I recommend you to take up your quarters at the New Hotel at Leamington, kept by Williams, where the accommodations are spacious and elegant."

To Mr. Northmore he also writes on the 6th of March, that in consequence of certain words used in the indictment, his defence would be to shew that instead of conspiring against the constitution, he had for more than forty years laboured to defend it against those who really conspired its overthrow.

" The work of hell", says he, " is already begun in a gross and flagrant packing of the jury. On Friday, we are to meet to reduce it from forty-eight to twenty-four; when we shall have a third battle on the point. We fought it first before the coroner, and the next morning Justice Holroyd, who refused to set aside the panel. On Friday I mean to speak out, and to insist that the packed panel shall be dissolved, and the business begin again de novo; and if it fail, we are determined to have another fight at the assizes. I am in great

hopes* that the trial may serve the cause of reform."

To this letter, Mr. Northmore replied as follows:—

"I have been under much tribulation on three accounts: 1st, on account of Mrs. Northmore, who, thank God! is at last safe with a fine little girl, and I hope doing well; 2dly, by reason of the requisition from Exeter, which I was obliged to answer at full length, which brought on violent head-aches and a slight inflammation on my chest; 3dly, on account of you, and the great cause. I foretold you of the danger arising from the manner of selecting the jury; but never mind, the cause will gain whatever may be the result.

"The very idea of guilt in attending a meeting not in itself against any human law, is preposterous. You do right to subpœna the grandees. I can swear that the Hampden Club had no other object than the freedom of election, (and I must know its object, if any man can,) and that there was a resolution to confine themselves to a reform of the Honourable House.

"I hope nothing will prevent my being at Warwick, and my son also. My intention was to come to London, and take you down, but perhaps you

* Had Major Cartwright only lived to see the amended jury-bill, it would have amply repaid him for all the trouble and expense of this prosecution.

have made some other arrangement, if not, let me know.

" ' Conspiring against the Constitution!' I hope you will force them to define the constitution. For how is it possible to conspire against any thing unless we know what the thing is? No ten men at Warwick will be found to agree in their definition.

" I wish much to take you with me to Warwick, and hope that Mrs. Cartwright will not accompany you, as it would be too much for her, and you will be in safe hands with

" Yours truly,

" T. NORTHMORE."

On the 10th of March, Major Cartwright attended the striking-off of the jury, when he strongly remonstrated against the injustice of selecting only esquires for the purpose of jurymen, as by so doing, the number of the panel was inconveniently limited. Such was the ability with which he argued this point, that the writer was informed by a gentleman present, it drew from the master of the crown-office, an expression of mingled surprise and admiration, at witnessing in a person of his advanced age, so much spirit and energy.

His arguments were, however, of little avail, and he could only declare that he considered the manner in which the jury was composed*, as a legal

* Major Cartwright used to say in the year 1824, when he found himself fast declining, that if it had pleased God to prolong his existence, he would have written a history of juries, but that

assassination of the defendants, and that he could not sink into the grave with a quiet conscience, if he did not openly protest against it.

It may be considered as a singular coincidence, that five years afterwards, on the very same day of the month in which he made this protest (10th of March), and about five months after his decease, the following passage was extracted from the Morning Herald. Mr. Secretary Peel said, "Now, with respect to special juries, he would propose to extend the number of persons at present qualified to serve on special juries. At present, it was well known that the lists of special jurors were universally made up of persons entitled esquires. This often led to great inconvenience. It happened, for instance, in the county of Warwick, that in the list of the special jury, which as every body knew, was to consist of forty-eight, the number summoned was only fifty-four. He did not scruple to state, that it was in the case of Major Cartwright."

as he felt it too late for him to attempt it, he trusted some abler hand would be found for the purpose, seeming to allude in particular to Mr. Jeremy Bentham. Among his papers were found a list of tracts and many memoranda relative to this subject. In his "Constitution Produced and Illustrated", see also, pages 137, 144, 145, 258, 266, 269, 280, 285, and 309.

In page 281, he mentions an admirable petition of Mr. Wooler, on the practice of packing juries, presented to Parliament by Sir Francis Burdett, praying for a committee on the subject. "It is therefore to be hoped," says he, "that early next session such committee will be appointed, when, together with that master-grievance in the administration of law, other abuses and '*defaults*' may be at the same time remedied."

For the further discussion of this subject, the reader is referred to the daily papers for the 21st of May, 1825. It is sufficient for the purpose of this work to state, that the particular grievance so strenuously resisted by Major Cartwright*, will, under the auspices of Mr. Peel, be in future removed.

It may be easily conçeived that the interval between the notice of trial and the assizes, was passed in considerable anxiety on the part of Major Cartwright's family and friends, whose minds were continually harassed by contradictory reports, and sometimes by well-meant, though perplexing advice. By the object of this anxiety, however, reports, advice, or insinuation, seemed equally disregarded, while his cheerfulness and equanimity kept up the spirits of those around him.

By some persons he was recommended to obtain, if possible, the removal of the trial to London, where it was supposed the jury would be more favourable; but from this, as arguing a want of confidence in the justice of the cause, he was entirely averse.

Neither would he listen to the plea, that as the matter might be considered as belonging in some

* In a letter addressed to Sir Francis Burdett, 2d of February, 1821, Major Cartwright says, "Our counsel (Messrs. Denman and Hill) on Wednesday made a powerful impression even in the Court of King's Bench, on the inveterate and infamous practice of packing juries. It would be a parliamentary question worthy of you. Will you undertake it?"

sort, to parliamentary privilege, it ought to be referred to the House of Commons. "I cannot", said he, "look on that House as a court of judicature, and will never give my sanction to such an acknowledgment."

A few days previous to his departure for Warwick, he received from his old friend Mr. Wyvill, a kind and affectionate letter, regretting his inability from age and infirmity, to attend the trial, but offering his testimony through the medium of an affidavit.

Accompanied by his wife and niece, Major Cartwright arrived at Warwick on the 22d of March. He received on his journey, as well as on his arrival at that place, many pleasing attentions, and had the satisfaction of being joined in a few days by several friends and relations, who were anxious to shew their personal regard on the occasion.

Their attendance however proved unnecessary; for after many days of suspense, on the very morning on which the trial was expected to take place, the defendants received a message from the judge (Mr. Justice Best), signifying that, from severe indisposition, he was unequal to the task of presiding at the trial, but hoping he should be able to do so on some future day. On the ensuing Tuesday, however, he still continued so ill that, though he offered to accede to the urgent request of the defendants, that the trial might come on, his medical attendants gave it as their opinion that the effort would be attended with injurious results. Under

these circumstances, the defendants could not but express their regret that such an opinion on the part of the judge's friends obliged them to give up their own wishes on the subject; and after an ineffectual request that another judge might be sent for, to which no answer was returned, the jury was discharged.

This postponement occasioned Major Cartwright a sensible mortification; nor could he listen with complacency to the consolatory assurances of many of his friends, who felt convinced that the prosecutors would allow the business to die away, rather than incur the odium of suffering so respectable a man, at his advanced age, to undergo a second time so much fatigue and inconvenience.

On the following day he paid a friendly visit to the venerable Dr. Parr, who had, with his characteristic warmth of heart, been deeply interested in the result of the trial. He afterwards spent some time in examining the beauties of Warwick Castle; among which the proportions of Guy's Tower excited his particular admiration. On Friday, the 7th of April, after a fortnight of unavailing anxiety, expense and trouble, he and his family arrived in London.

Scarcely had he reposed from the fatigues of his journey, when he began strenuously to exert himself in favour of her whom he considered, as well as himself, an object of unjust persecution; and on the 17th of May he took the chair at a meeting to celebrate the birth-day of Queen Caroline: nor

was he less devoted, notwithstanding his own impending trial, to subjects in which, by possibility, the cause of liberty might be involved.

"The day on which the Cortes assembled", says he to Mr. Northmore, "I had to dine with me a Spanish patriot, Mr. Hobhouse, Captain Williams, R. N., and George Dyer. We did not fail to drink to the Cortes, and the healths of Quiroga and Riego, in sound Spanish wine."

On the 6th of July a petition from Major Cartwright was presented to the House of Commons, for reform of Parliament, in which, in the most uncompromising language, was set forth the corruption in the representation, and especially the flagrant usurpation of the seats in the House of Commons by the peers.

On the 11th of the same month he thus addresses the Duke of Norfolk:

"MY LORD,

"When, under pretence of prosecuting individuals, the Treasury, through their solicitor, is in fact prosecuting, to extermination, the constitution, and attempting to subvert the last remnant of English freedom, I have found it expedient to subpœna your Grace, as having been, together with myself, for some years a member of the Hampden Club; the object of which club was, a constitutional reform of Parliament: I can have no doubt that your answer to a question which, at my defence, I shall have to put to your Grace,

will be equally beneficial to the two defendants—John Cartwright and the Constitution.

"And after the step which, through an imperious sense of duty, I have recently taken, for having placed on the journals of the Commons a certain list of peers, I nevertheless feel not the less confident of your Grace's readiness to stand forward in support of public liberty; for I persuade myself your Grace is actuated by the same patriotic principles as your predecessor, the late Duke, who, in the presence of General Long and others, assured me, that although he desired to keep possession of his borough-influence so long as the system should hold together, he would, nevertheless, at all times exert that influence in favour of parliamentary reform, whenever an opportunity for so doing should present itself*.

"With great respect, &c.

"JOHN CARTWRIGHT."

* The following note appears in Major Cartwright's memorandum-book, and though without date, the circumstance must have taken place on or about the 8th of August, 1807, when on a visit to the Rev. E. Cartwright, in Sussex.

"Returned this day with my nephew from Arundel Castle. The Duke of Norfolk introduced the subject of reform, and said he had sent for my book. I said he would be angry when he read it, as I had spoken harshly of the whig aristocracy. He replied, 'that if he were not attacked by name, he should be satisfied.' Having introduced a conversation on his attempt to secure the borough of Horsham, in which he thought he might yet succeed, and having detailed the mode of managing an election, he asked me if I consented to his holding such a borough? My answer was, that I did, on condition that he used his influence for promoting the general reform of Parliament; he replied, that he agreed to the condition; that he had ever been a friend to reform, and should

On the 20th of July, Major Cartwright and his family again set out for Warwick, where they had the pleasure of again meeting several kind friends*; and the expected trial took place on the 3d of August.

His friends being well aware that the defence he was likely to frame for himself would not be constructed on those principles of *expediency* best calculated to promote his acquittal, many of them strongly urged his employing, on this occasion, either Mr. Denman, of whose skill and integrity he entertained a high opinion, or his friend, Mr. John Pearson (now occupying a high legal situation in India), who had lately conducted the cause of Sir Charles Wolseley, at Stockport.

To these entreaties he always replied, that though the legal knowledge and eloquence of those gentlemen could not be disputed, and were far superior to his own, he yet feared to place his defence in their hands. "I know", said he, "that from

so continue, only wishing to retain his borough-influence as long as it should hold together. On taking my leave, he thanked me, in strong terms, for the honour I had done him, as he termed it, and said he should have a particular satisfaction in seeing me at Arundel Castle or elsewhere."—The visit, however, was never repeated; in fact, Major Cartwright never found time for visits, except from motives of friendship, or in the hope of doing either public or private good.

* Among these were Mr. Northmore and his sons, Mr. William Williams, M.P., Mr. Fyshe Palmer, M.P., Mr. Mason, Mr. H. E. Strickland, Mr. Peter Walker, Mr. Thelwall, &c.

Admiral Sir William Young, Admiral Peere Williams, Mr. Favell, and many others who had attended on the former occasion, were prevented on this by a variety of circumstances.

a sense of duty to their client, their object would be to *get me off* at any rate, and to secure me from personal risk; but *my* object is, to advocate that cause which is in greater jeopardy than myself."

Accordingly, in examining the rough draft of his defence, the following memorandum appears:

"My defence not to be fashioned for a mere personal acquittal: must not be lowered in tone and sense to the level of a Warwickshire jury, but intended as an appeal to the great jury of the English Nation.—Not framed only for the trial of the defendant, but for that of the constitution and liberties of the country."

The trial took place on Thursday, the 3d of August. The proceedings began by an affidavit on the part of the defendants, respecting an irregularity in serving the usual summons to Mr. Peach, one of the gentlemen on the jury, whereby he was prevented from attending, and also respecting the manner in which the jury had been originally selected by the Master of the Crown Office.

These points were argued with great ability by Mr. Hill, who was followed on the same side by Mr. Wooler, but their objections being over-ruled by Chief Baron Richards, the trial proceeded, and occupied the whole of the day.

On the part of Major Cartwright, Mr. Hill made an able and concise speech, but was not permitted to read that gentleman's written defence. Mr. Wooler was then called on, but on account of

the lateness of the hour, the trial was postponed, and between ten and eleven o'clock Major Cartwright returned to his inn, attended by a concourse of persons, whose friendly acclamations were interpreted by his anxious family into an announcement of acquittal. These few moments of joyful expectation, however, only served to render more painful the result of the ensuing day.

On the 4th of August, the Court assembled at ten in the morning, and the trial recommenced.

After a brilliant and eloquent speech from Mr. Wooler, Major Cartwright addressed a few words to the Court, expressive of the desire that, as Mr. Hill was interdicted from reading the defence which had been prepared, he might offer to the Court some letters and testimonials. Baron Richards not only complied with this request, but permitted Major Cartwright's solicitor to read his defence, in which, to use the words of a gentleman present, "he was obviously more actuated with the desire of inculcating his own opinions, than of warding off the penalties by which he was menaced."

This defence began as follows :—

"Gentlemen of the Jury :—It being one of the characteristics of the English trial by jury, that the jurors appointed to try a man who is accused of a crime, being, as is presumed, of the same vicinage, shall be well acquainted with the character of him they are about to try; you who are here on the present occasion, cannot be supposed to feel the

surprise I felt on learning that I had been indicted for conspiring against the government and constitution of our common country, because, gentlemen, it may not have come within your knowledge that to render that government an object of the warmest affection, and to preserve that constitution from violation and overthrow, has, for upwards of forty years past, been so great an object of my vigilance and repeated exertion, as to have become the most conspicuous feature of my life."

He then informs the jury that the very day before a grand jury of that county had put him on his present trial, he had presented to his Majesty, then Regent, a document evincing his attachment and ardent devotion to the genuine constitution of his country,—and that in all his addresses to the Throne, and to the heir of the Throne, his best endeavours had been exerted to apprise the King and the Prince of the shackles imposed on royalty when a House of Commons, ceasing to represent the people, became, in his opinion, a mere engine in the hands of a faction of insatiable individuals. He then adverts to the wish he had entertained of promoting the glory as well as the liberty of his country, by a design he had formed for a temple of naval celebration, which had not only met with the approbation of the head of the navy, his Royal Highness the Duke of Clarence, but also of Lord Nelson, who declared that it ought to be placed where every English seaman, either departing from or returning to his native land, might have it in

his view. "This particular I mention, gentlemen of the jury," said he, "because it has been a convenient fashion among the usurping monopolists of parliamentary seats, and their hireling scribes, to paint parliamentary reformers as coarse-minded savages, insensible to national fame."

The defendant then proceeds to shew, that a parliament elected by the influence of the treasury, the peers, and borough-holders, cannot be considered the constitution as by law established; and in support of his argument he quotes Mr. Pitt, who, in the year 1780, declared "that he so much admired the beauties of the English constitution, that he wished to remove its defects, as he clearly perceived they were defects which altered the RADICAL principles of the constitution, and it would not be innovation, but a recovery of the constitution to remove them."

After commenting on parliamentary reform, and the propriety of using every justifiable means for obtaining it, he proceeds to the indictment.—"It is intended", says he, "to make you believe that what passed at Birmingham on the 12th of July last year, was unlawful.—What! gentlemen, do the 190 giants of corruption and their agent talk of unlawful, in merely *recommending* to a seat in the House of Commons a gentleman approved for his integrity, while, as you have seen, they, the giants themselves, unlawfully usurp 353 of its seats?

"But let us proceed with this curious indictment, by which it appears that the steps taken in

respect of authorizing Sir Charles Wolseley to accept a seat in the House of Commons, provided the House consented, had given the 190 giants of corruption serious alarm. After having for forty years turned a deaf ear to writers and reasoners, as well as petitioners by thousands, whether their petitions were on paper or parchment, written or printed, this new thought, of sending a living, speaking petition, in the person of a worthy baronet, struck them with terror." As a proof of this alarm, he notices various insinuations which had gone abroad, and in particular what he found repeated in the Times Newspaper, 16th of August, 1819; viz. that Sir William Garrow, in his charge to the grand jury of Surrey, three days after the bill of indictment had been found against the defendants, mentions the objects of the Birmingham meeting as amounting almost to treason.

After much legal argument on the nature of conspiracy, and on the untenability of the indictment, which he declares to be written so as to excite unjust prejudice in the minds of the jury, he thus continues:

"I think but little of the mere fact, that no breach of the law can, upon the present occasion, be proved against me. From the first I despised the accusation, and my whole anxiety has been, that not only a jury of twelve Englishmen, but that my country at large, should believe that I am incapable of conspiring against that constitu-

tion which it has been the labour of my life to uphold.

"Indeed I may truly say, that to every member of my own affectionate family, and to every friend, who were for a long time persuaded that the charge would be abandoned, and who expressed an anxious desire that such persuasion would be verified, I invariably expressed a contrary hope, that my prosecutors would persist in their accusation, not only that my own honour might be vindicated, but that the sacred cause of reform might gain strength, as I am sure it will by investigation."

The next subject which falls under the observation of the defendant, is that selection of the jury which has been already noticed, and then in justification of his own honour and character thus vilified in the indictment, he gives a brief outline of his opinions, and of some of the principal circumstances of his life, all which he offers to prove by legal documents. In the course of these remarks, while speaking of his Ægis, he indignantly exclaims, "Who then, I ask, are most guilty of attempting to bring the constitution into hatred, those who in time of peace keep up a standing army of above 90,000 mercenaries, at an immense expense to the impoverished nation, or he who has given demonstration that our islands may be infinitely better defended by the unbought arms of the constitution itself?"

" Old as this defendant is, and charged as he is with an odious crime, yet when the cry of blood came up from the graves of his countrymen murdered in St. Peter's Field at Manchester, filling the land with terror and dismay at the apprehension of a military despotism, he could not bestow a thought on defending himself, until by perfecting the system outlined in the Ægis, he had shown the complete means of defending his country against the domestic, as well as the foreign sword of its enemies. He therefore postponed whatever was personally interesting to himself, until he had framed his 'Bill of Free and Sure Defence' to protect that constitution, for a pretended violation of which, you are now trying him, and he has to thank his God that his life has been spared for this service; while he is utterly regardless, so far as he is concerned, of the machinations of men, who, as Milton expresses it, 'have betaken themselves to state affairs, with souls unprincipled in virtue and true generous breeding.'"

Major Cartwright thus concludes a defence which probably from its peculiar character, stands alone in the annals of legal history:

" Is there not in all this, evidence to make it incredible that I should quit the grand path of reason, for the madness and stupidity of conspiring, and that too in the society of men, whose faces I

had never before seen, and of most of whom I had never before heard?

"That this defendant's reliance has been on reasoning, and on reasoning alone, may be credited when he adds, that since the publication of the 'Appeal Civil and Military', not a year has passed in which he has not, through the medium of the press, diligently laboured in that vocation.

"Here, then, he closes what he has thought it but justice to himself and to the cause of parliamentary reform to say to his jury, in perfect confidence that a vile calumniating indictment cannot touch his honour."

It will be thought rather extraordinary that Major Cartwright, after having been at so much trouble and expense in bringing witnesses to Warwick, should not have produced them on the trial; but such was the line of conduct recommended to him by several persons, who, judging from the apparent feeling of the court on the first day of the trial, and from some information conveyed in a circuitous manner, that no conviction would take place, thought it better that he should depend solely upon the honour and unimpeached respectability of his character. To this advice, though against his own judgment, he acceded; and on the 4th of August, late in the evening, a verdict of Guilty was brought in against all the defendants.

Major Cartwright, being fatigued with sitting

so long in a hot and crowded court, returned to his family at the Warwick Arms some hours before the trial had concluded. A gentleman who had come from Birmingham, entirely from motives of kindness, to give what he conceived to be some very important evidence in his favour, followed him to the inn, and entreated for permission to appear as a witness. Major Cartwright, after expressing his sense of so much disinterested kindness, informed him that he had, in compliance with the advice of his friends, declined to produce any witness; and the gentleman, after a few more earnest entreaties, withdrew in haste, having some business of great consequence which waited his return to Birmingham.

While occupied in cheerful conversation with his family, who now felt, for the first time, almost secure of his acquittal, the arrival of his friends from the court, with melancholy and dejected countenances, at once announced the unpleasant intelligence of a contrary result. Major Cartwright was the first to break the silence which ensued; and when informed that a verdict of guilty had been pronounced against all the defendants, there was a momentary expression of surprise on his countenance. He, however, instantly resumed his natural serenity, and that peculiar tenderness which distinguished his manner towards those he loved, and who felt the disappointment much more keenly than himself.

On the following morning, when endeavouring

to reconcile one of his family to the verdict, he used this remarkable expression: "Be assured, that if I had been separated from the other defendants, on account of any lenity shewn merely to my age or situation in life, I should have left Warwick with feelings of humiliation which I cannot describe."

This assurance had its desired effect; the tranquillity of those around him was, from that moment, almost equal to his own; for what more did they, or could they desire, than to see *him* happy who was the object of all their anxieties? *

* The following lines appeared in the Morning Chronicle a few days after the result of the trial of Major Cartwright, and drew from him the observation that they were only too complimentary.

"TO THE MODERN ARISTIDES.

"Thou good old man! no selfish smart
E'er rankled in that generous heart;
Else would this unexpected stroke,
A keener sense of wrong provoke;
Nor should we see, as now, combin'd,
The gentlest with the firmest mind,
Intent on others' cares alone,
Regardless wholly of thine own.
Yet I must weep—must weep, to see
Thy country so unworthy thee!
Long labouring to avert the fate
Which threatens a corrupted state;
Still would'st thou every danger brave,
That country to support and save.
But why the useless strain prolong?
This cruel hour of bitter wrong
Proves thou hast been 'the just' too long."

On his return to town, Major Cartwright continued his usual exertions with undiminished ardour. He was anxious to promote a public dinner in the metropolis, for the celebration of the revolutions of Spain, Portugal and Naples; but this object he did not obtain till the following October. In the mean time he was actively engaged in attending and promoting public meetings in support of the Queen, and in presenting to her Majesty the various addresses which were sent to him for that purpose: and it is worthy of remark, that, with a recorded verdict, and the sentence of the law hanging over his head, he ventured publicly to address a letter to the Queen, in which he distinctly denied that Parliament had a right to pass the bill of pains and penalties, or in any other respect to violate the constitution.

"If it be possible", said he to a friend, "to pass that infamous bill, I must lay my account with either having to abide the vengeance of Parliament, or to undergo a prosecution at law by the Attorney-General; but I trust the public voice, in condemnation of that bill, will not only save me, but, in the end, the constitution itself."

In pursuance of the object of obtaining a public dinner in honour of the reforming nations of the two Peninsulas, he writes thus to Lord Holland, on the 4th of September:

"I have the honour to inclose the circular invitation for providing stewards, among whom the

Spanish people will doubtless rejoice to see an English nobleman who has so eminently contributed to spread the fame of their nation.

"Patriotic songs, in Spanish, and translations of them, are in hand for the occasion.

"I avail myself of this opportunity of bringing to your recollection the Middlesex resolutions of the 12th of November last, on the subject of which your Lordship honoured me with your sentiments in your obliging letter from Maidenhead, on the 19th of that month.

"That the authority of Parliament is strictly limited within the scope of the constitution, is clearly deducible from the writings of Locke, as well as from the still higher authority of reason.

"If it ever before could have been doubted, it must now, I conceive, in consequence of the present outrageous proceedings against majesty itself, in the person of the Queen, impress itself on the public mind, with irresistible force."

The following letter, received at this period, cannot but interest the reader. It is well known that the excellent and learned individual by whom it was written survived his correspondent only a few months.

"TO JOHN CARTWRIGHT, ESQ.

"Hatton, 15th September, 1820.

"DEAR AND EXCELLENT MR. CARTWRIGHT,

"I am busy night and day in preparing such a

catalogue of my numerous books, as may guide my executors when I am no more. Scarcely any consideration could draw me away from the laborious but important task. If my presence had been necessary for the cause of the Queen, I am pretty sure that I should have been summoned; and the Queen knows I should have been ready to obey the summons. But all her interests and all her rights are in the hands of able, and, we may now say, faithful auxiliaries. I hold with you, that the honour of the Queen is closely connected with the constitutional rights of the people; and at all events we are gaining ground against a venal and oppressive crew in the palace, in the council-chamber, and in both houses of Parliament.

"My mind, like your own, is anxious for the success of the Spaniards, Portuguese and Neapolitans, in their resistance to tyranny.

"I believe that the governors of this country will not dare to interfere.—I cannot with any convenience attend your dinner; and I must fairly acknowledge to you, that my own sense of decorum always leads me to keep at a distance from convivial meetings upon political subjects. But I shall not yield the palm of consistency and intrepidity to any Englishman now living, when, by open profession or by personal exertion, I can promote the cause of genuine freedom. I set at defiance the invectives of party scribblers, and the taunts of courtiers, and the frowns of nobles and princes. I really, and I avowedly think you a

most injured man; and I lament the servility, and the corruption, and intolerance, and the cruelty of which so many vestiges are to be found among the dignitaries of my own order, and, I am sorry to add, among the ministers of public justice. Our infatuated rulers are blindly rushing into every outrage which has a tendency to accelerate revolution. Mrs. Parr unites with me in best compliments and best wishes to your well-bred and intelligent lady, and to Miss Cartwright.

"I have the honour to be,

"Dear Sir, &c.

"SAMUEL PARR."

From another worthy and patriotic gentleman, who since Major Cartwright's death has also paid the debt of nature, he received an answer respecting the proposed dinner, to the following effect:—

"Scarborough—Sunday.

"MY DEAR MAJOR,

"I received yours this morning. I should at all times feel happy to co-operate with you, but on the present occasion I must decline giving my name; and for the reasons I assigned before, I never will again have any thing to do with any public meeting which has not for its avowed and express object, the only thing worth going across the floor for, parliamentary reform; and yet, here again, my dear Major, I fear we should not find ourselves yoked to the same car; but you have long known the extent to which I am disposed to

go, and from that I have never yet, and never will swerve.

"I must own I am rather glad to excuse myself on this occasion on another account. For I should feel somewhat queer at this ensuing dinner, to find my old friend, the author of the invaluable 'Ægis', united with the whigs, who have been bawling for the last hundred years against *standing armies*, in lauding the mischievous system, because three of the worst armies in Europe have overturned their respective Governments. For myself, I hold the opinion I always did. I hate janissaries and prætorian guards, whether they uphold tyranny or extinguish it. They are independent and *irresponsible* agents, and therefore not to be trusted. There are Cromwells in all lands, and in all ages. I know you always allow me to speak my mind to you. My judgment may be erroneous, but it is, believe me, always disinterested; and my regard for you always unabated.

"With great truth, my dear Major,

"Most cordially yours,

"W. FAWKES."

To Don Florez Estrado, then at Madrid, Major Cartwright gives an account of the dinner which took place in honour of the continental revolutions, at which the chair had been taken by Sir Robert Wilson:—

"MY DEAR FRIEND,

"On Monday, the 2d of October, after many

difficulties encountered, we had a public dinner in honour of the people of Spain, the Two Sicilies, and Portugal.

"The idea having originated with a few radical reformers, a certain faction strove to get it into their own hands, and turn it to their own party-purposes. This being resisted, they endeavoured to quash it altogether. Meanwhile I wrote circular letters all over the United Kingdom, and soon obtained so many respectable names as stewards that they found themselves defeated and let the matter take its course.

"I employed an artist to make two busts of Riego and Quiroga, which being mounted on flat pedestals fixed on staves, and ornamented with sprigs of olive and laurel, were carried at the head of the stewards, led by the chairman.

"Through my friend Señor Llanos Gutierez, I obtained the assistance of one of his countrymen, an admired singer at the opera, who electrified the company by a Spanish song, which was received with enthusiastic plaudits. A young English friend of mine also produced a song, which was set to music by a native of Scotland.—Until you have organized the militia of Spain, systematically and completely, I shall not feel secure of Spanish liberty."*

* In a former letter, dated 9th of March, 1820, addressed to this gentleman on his departure for Spain, Major Cartwright says, "Go, my friend, and consolidate the freedom of your country!—but ever keep in mind the saying of our sagacious Fletcher,

Major Cartwright having received, at this time, information which he considered of the greatest importance, respecting some inflammatory hand-bills*, circulated in such a manner as to implicate himself, and other friends of the Queen, in expressions and proceedings highly injurious to the cause, and foreign to their purpose, he took infinite pains to have the matter properly investigated. To these transactions he alludes in the following letter to Mr. Northmore:

"16th October, 1820.

"I have put in circulation six counterparts of a requisition for a Middlesex meeting, 'for taking into consideration the propriety of petitioning the House of Commons for a constitutional reform in the representation of the people in parliament, as well as to consider whether it may, or may not, be expedient to adopt any other legal means to that salutary end.' It is somewhat remarkable, that the old reformer of fourscore should have been a principal in the blowing-up of the late conspiracy against the Queen and reform, in which the spy Franklin, alias Forbes, alias Fletcher, a wretch of the most infamous character, was the agent. The printer had spoken of the information he possessed to three or four members of parliament, with whom it seems to have gone in at one ear and out at the other—but I had not heard the

that the militia is the chief part of any free government. Adieu! and may God's providence go with you."

* For a specimen of these placards, see Appendix, No. XVII.

tale ten minutes, before I was in a coach to hunt Pearson, whom I at last found, and appointed him to be in Burton Crescent the next morning; there I had two printers possessed of the facts, and the first examinations were taken. In consequence of which a discovery was instantly set on foot, and ended in capturing the villain, to whom a magistrate afterwards gave means of escape, and a third person, high in office, refused to aid in his apprehension*.

"From another quarter, as I conceive, I have obtained authentic information, that some farther attack is intended against the Queen. The names I cannot give, but the facts will serve to put her Majesty on her guard.

"I was yesterday with the Queen for the fourth time, and go again on Wednesday with another address."

* "Mr. Pearson left with Mr. Clive (of the Secretary of State's office) two of the seditious handbills, and was appointed to call again at a quarter past four, at which time that gentleman and his friends returned; and Mr. Clive, addressing them, said, that Lord Sidmouth did not see anything in the handbills to justify his interference. In one of these handbills, among many other inflammatory expressions, was the following—'Strike not at all, or strike home; think of our personal insupportable servitude; and always remember, that the alternative is liberty or a glorious grave.' Addersfield, the boy who circulated these bills was fined five pounds, and sentenced to hard labour in the House of Correction for three months. It will be recollected that Addersfield could not read, and was therefore ignorant of the contents of the handbill he was circulating; meanwhile the author of the bill has been suffered to escape without remark." Times Newspaper.

Though this person escaped from the hands of justice, by taking refuge in a foreign country, (where he is reported to be now residing in affluent circumstances), there could be no doubt of his guilt; and it appeared from the examination taken down at the time, a copy of which is preserved among Major Cartwright's papers, that there was reason to suppose him also the author of a threatening letter to the jury, on the trial of Sir Francis Burdett, at Leicester. The motive for sending such a letter, at that time, is sufficiently obvious. At the subsequent trial of Mr. Dennis O'Bryen, that gentleman was acquitted of participation in the iniquities of Fletcher; but those who are interested in investigating matters of this nature, will find in that trial some curious particulars, which made at the time a considerable impression on the public mind.

The following passage in a letter from Dr. Borthwick Gilchrist, printed and circulated at this time, will also explain what otherwise might appear almost unintelligible to some of our readers.

"Arlington Street, November 13, 1820.

"You are doubtless aware of the circumstances connected with the detection and exposure of the conduct of Fletcher, alias Franklin, alias Forbes, together with the protection afforded to him by the ministers and officers of Government.

"Mr. Pearson, who undertook the investigation of this affair from the commencement, has, assisted

by a few frends, been unwearied in his exertions to bring the delinquents to justice; and although he has, by misconduct of a magistrate*, for the present escaped from the arm of the law, Mr. Pearson has succeeded in obtaining unimpeachable evidence, proving that all the seditious and treasonable placards which have been published during the last three years in the metropolis, and addressed to persons attending popular meetings, during the agitated state of the public feeling, were the productions of this man," &c.

During the latter end of this year, Major Cartwright having set on foot a requisition for a Middlesex county meeting, was somewhat surprised to find an opposition where he had least reason to expect it, as the known liberality of the Sheriff seemed to promise a different line of conduct. After experiencing much trouble and difficulty in the pursuance of this object, the indefatigable veteran applied to the Duke of Portand, who, though adverse to the opinions of the reformers, in a manner highly creditable to his impartiality as a Lord Lieutenant, gave his sanction to the meeting, which accordingly took place on the 16th of January in the ensuing year.

In this year Major Cartwright published, besides many single letters in newspapers, his "Letter to Mr. Lambton", "The Birmingham Complaint and

* See Edinburgh Annual Register, 7th of October, 1820.

Remonstrance", to which was subjoined a Table of Peers, and his "Bill of Free and Sure Defence."

Of the intended Middlesex meeting he thus speaks to Mr. Northmore, 6th January, 1821.

"I sincerely thank you for consenting to my request. The requisition is now in the hands of the Duke of Portland, and I expect by Monday's post, his determination to convene our meeting.

"The Resolutions and Petition which I have prepared for Middlesex, I expect will be well supported; should I depart before they are proposed, I trust they will lay a sound foundation for completely effecting our reform in future. Possibly the previous death of their mover might promote their adoption; for what is well intended, is frequently not estimated until their author is no more; for death in general extinguishes jealousy; and pride, that would not join a living man, will sometimes take counsel of a dead one."

The Middlesex meeting took place on the 16th of January, the resolutions above alluded to were agreed upon, and nine persons were requested to form a council of guardians of parliamentary reform; viz. Mr. Bentham, Sir Francis Burdett, bart. Major Cartwright, the Rev. William Draper, G. Ensor, esq. the Rev. R. Hays, Alderman Wood, M. P., Sir Charles Wolseley, bart., and Captain Williams, R. N.

A petition to the House of Commons was also agreed to, which Mr. Whitbread, in the handsomest manner, consented to present, and to support by every means in his power.

At a public meeting of the inhabitants of St. Pancras, on the 30th of January, after voting a loyal and affectionate address to the Queen, and a petition for parliamentary reform, and protection to her majesty, eight resolutions were unanimously passed; in the first of these it was declared, that the English constitution may be divided into five parts; first, the abstract principles on which liberty and property depend; sesondly, its militia or county power; thirdly, its legislature, consisting of king, lords, and commons, fairly chosen by the people; fourthly, its magistracy; and fifthly, its juries.

On the 18th of April in this year, a most respectable meeting of the friends of civil and religious liberty was held at the Freemasons' Tavern, for the purpose of considering those clauses in the Catholic Bill, which are adverse to freedom of conscience and the rights of the people; Major Cartwright in the chair.

The following resolutions, among many others, were unanimously passed: "That the clauses of the rejected Catholic Bill, which, under the penalties of a misdemeanour, required from the Catholic bishops and deans the approbation of the Crown, and for Catholic correspondence the in-

spection and indorsement of the Secretary of State, would have been unconstitutional, destructive of freedom of conscience, and a renewal of persecution.

"That the state power exercised under this Government, whereby one denomination of Christians is called the Church of England as by law established; a second is called the Church of Scotland, as by law established; and a third is called the Church of Canada, as by law established; instead of the entire body of the people, without invidious distinctions of religion, having every where in this kingdom as in the United States of America, perfect equality and freedom, exposes to scorn and derision, the absurd and factious notion of an alliance of church and state."

After several attendances in the Court of King's Bench, Major Cartwright was at length called up for judgment on the 29th of May 1821.

The affidavit which he offered, began by impeaching the justice of the existing special jury practice, but the Court refused to listen to any arguments of this kind,—the affidavit was accordingly altered, and its purport was as follows:—

"That the visits he received previously to the meeting at Birmingham, were of such a nature, and from persons so little known to him, as to preclude all possibility of a conspiracy to overturn any Government. That he had used his best endeavours to restore and renovate the constitu-

tion, in proof of which he recapitulated the various addresses and petitions he had at different times presented, and mentioned both his anxious designs to defend the country from invasion during war, and to adorn and embellish it in prosperity and peace. That he could declare on oath that he was incapable of conceiving that he had transgressed against any known law or statute, but that if any penal visitation were awarded, he trusted that it would be altogether personal and in the shape of imprisonment, and not in the shape of fine.

"That his property had suffered by various unavoidable calamities in which he had been involved in conjunction with others, so that his present income arose almost wholly from a moderate annuity, and that a severe sentence by fine must operate, by disinheriting a beloved and adopted child of that which he had been able to reserve for her future use."

This affidavit was followed by others, to prove that he had not intended to have appeared on the hustings, but would have remained in his carriage as a mere spectator, if the immense crowd pressing on the carriage which stood upon the side of a declivity, had not alarmed the coachman, and obliged him to take advantage of an arm-chair which was offered him on the hustings.

Mr. Denman's speech on the 1st of June, in mitigation of judgment, was considered as one of

the happiest efforts of that eloquent and distinguished pleader.

After noticing the small share which Major Cartwright took in the proceedings at Birmingham, and the accidental circumstance which had occasioned his appearing on the hustings, he begged to say that his venerable defendant expressly disclaimed any invidious distinction between his own case and that of the other defendants; being ready to bear equally with them the consequences of the verdict which the jury had pronounced.—Mr. Denman then observed, "That he was at a loss to conceive how the proceedings at Birmingham of the 12th of July could be considered as a crime. If indeed the defendants had forged the King's writ, or had resorted to any fraudulent abuse of authority in derogation of the powers of other persons to effect their object, the case would have been different. But here no such complexion marked the case. No, not a breach of the peace had occurred. No magistrate had found it necessary to whisper the riot-act in the ear of his clerk, under pretence that the peace of the community was in danger. A more orderly or peaceable assembly had never taken place on any public occasion, and it had separated without having committed, or threatened to commit any act of violence."

In speaking of Major Cartwright he described him as one whose life had been devoted to the promoting the arts of his country, in endeavouring to preserve the purity of our national institutions, and

in the pursuit of those objects which dignify and enoble the character of man.—He spoke of his venerable age *, his amiable deportment in all the relations of life, and concluded by adverting to the worthy Major's desire that imprisonment rather than fine might be imposed, as the latter would in its consequences affect those who were dear to him. "If," said the learned gentleman, "it should be your Lordships' pleasure to consign this venerable, this worthy and excellent man to a prison, I know that he will submit to the sentence with the calm dignity of a gentleman; and I may add, with the constancy of a martyr. But, my Lords, allow me to observe, that whatever you may inflict on this venerable defendant, he will still be an object of respect to the present generation, and that an impartial posterity will do justice to his name and actions."

The learned counsel then sat down amidst a burst of uncontrollable applause.

Mr. Hill †, on the same side, expressed his un-

* In this speech Mr. Denman made a considerable mistake in Major Cartwright's age, which he stated to be 84. That gentleman on his return from court, observed to his family that he felt so much concerned at this mistake, lest it might be thought that it had been mentioned to excite compassion, that he was on the point of setting the learned counsel right, and was only deterred by the apprehension of apparent incivility in interrupting him.

† It is impossible to pass over in silence the zealous, and yet judicious, manner in which this gentleman (who at the time of Major Cartwright's trial was just beginning his career as a barrister) devoted himself to the legal business of his venerable friend.

willingness to weaken the impression which the eloquence of his learned friend had made on the court.

Mr. Wooler then addressed the Court at considerable length, and in a style of native eloquence peculiar to himself.

The Solicitor-General addressed the Court on the part of the Crown, with his usual ability.

After the Court had deliberated about half an hour, Mr. Justice Bayley proceeded to deliver the sentence, which was, that Major Cartwright should pay a fine of £100, and be imprisoned till that fine was paid; Mr. Wooler to be imprisoned in Warwick gaol for fifteen months, and to give security for five years; Mr. Edmunds to be imprisoned for nine months, and Mr. Maddocks for eighteen, both giving security for five years*.

While pronouncing sentence, the learned judge spoke with so much respect of the character and motives of Major Cartwright, that it was afterwards humourously remarked by that gentleman, that he thought he was going to offer him a reward instead of inflicting a fine, and that as the only thing of which he was accused by the Court was "a delusion", he thought it very hard to pay for so venial an offence.

The sentence, however, was very differently appreciated by his friends, who having anticipated a much severer judgment, saw with infinite satisfac-

* This brief account of the proceedings is chiefly taken from the report in the Morning Chronicle, 23d of June, 1821.

tion that he was free from the evils, so much to be dreaded at his advanced age, of a protracted imprisonment. Before he left the Court, he produced from one of the pockets of his waistcoat, which he always wore of an unusual size, a large canvas bag, out of which he slowly and deliberately counted £100 in gold, observing that he believed "they were all *good* sovereigns." The composed manner in which this was performed, and the dry tone in which he pronounced the words, afforded much amusement to the Court, in which it was said that even the judges themselves participated: indeed, the writer has been assured by an eye witness, who watched him with the greatest attention, that not a muscle of his tranquil countenance was seen to change, or to betray any emotion, throughout the whole of the proceedings.

As he left the Court, blessings and cordial greetings awaited him on every side; friends, servants, and even common acquaintance sympathized in the general satisfaction; but those who were best acquainted with his peculiarities, abstained from any vehement expressions of congratulation, in which they knew he did not participate. Among those who sincerely rejoiced in this event were his brother defendants. With a magnanimity and feeling which do honour to human nature, they had manifested throughout the whole affair, the greatest anxiety for the safety of Major Cartwright, and when themselves on the brink of imprisonment, seemed to derive a sensible

gratification from the comparative mildness of his sentence.

Among the many kind congratulatory letters he received, was one from a gentleman residing in his neighbourhood, with whom he had never been previously acquainted, to which he returned the following answer:

"3d of June, 1821.

"DEAR SIR,

"It is with sincerity I thank you for congratulations which speak your good will towards me, but I cannot consider a fine of a hundred pounds when I had not violated, nor contemplated the violation of any law, human or divine, as being 'very favourable to me', especially after the previous fining, to an extent of many hundred pounds in expences brought on me by an iniquitous prosecution, working by a packed jury and various perversions of law, not forgetting the torture which for nearly two years the amiable females of my family have suffered.

"So far, however, as I was personally affected, I was, and am content to have been an object of this persecution, because of its tendency towards bringing about the political reform I seek, and, for seeking, have long had for enemies the faction interested in upholding the corruptions I have for nearly half a century combated, and long as life shall remain to me I shall not cease to combat.

"You speak of not perfectly agreeing with me

in politics. The word is of wide extent, applying, indeed, to whatever relates to the ordering of society and the well-being of a community, wherefore it were next to an impossibility that any two men, respecting all such matters, should perfectly agree; although in first principles, on which all the rest depends, such a perfect agreement is natural to men of sense and integrity, who have paid an ordinary attention to the science of politics.

"Religion and politics, although of most importance to men, are the only two subjects on which corrupt rulers by their laws forbid free discussion, impose false and absurd creeds, and by acts and frauds endeavour to mislead a people. No wonder then that the well-meaning become so perplexed as not 'perfectly to agree' on either of these subjects.

"Religion and politics are, however, much more nearly allied than is commonly imagined, and, indeed, I cannot consider politics in any other light than as practical religion, and pre-eminently so under the Christian dispensation.

"It being one of the vile acts of corruptionists to talk of religion and politics as being without affinity, it became an object in a treatise of which, on the late trial, I had occasion to prove myself the author, to show their close and inseparable connexion.

"As that treatise is not long, I beg leave to offer you a perusal of it, but am sorry I cannot

ask your acceptance of it, as it is out of print, and I keep only a few copies to lend.

"I am dear Sir,

"Your obliged and obedient servant,

"JOHN CARTWRIGHT."

"TO THOMAS NORTHMORE, ESQ.

"3d November, 1821.

"From our friend Florez Estrada, the patriot General Pepe*, of Calabria, brought me a letter of introduction, and I have the gratification of seeing the general frequently, with his friend and his aid-de-camp, Colonel Pisa, staunch friends of liberty!

"The Northern Union, I trust, is growing to giant-size and strength. Its springing up, I hope, together with the spirit-stirring massacres of Manchester and Cumberland Gate, the universal sympathy for an injured Queen, and the speaking dismissals of a civil magistrate and a military officer, have generated such a feeling in the public bosom,

* It is hardly necessary to remark, that the society of this excellent and upright patriot afforded Major Cartwright the highest gratification. The general having during his residence in this country, learned to write and converse in English, the greatest intimacy subsisted between these congenial spirits; and when the venerable patriot's mortal career had closed, General Pepe shewed the respect he entertained for his character, by travelling from Worthing, in Sussex, where he was staying for his health, in order to attend his remains to the grave. On this occasion a gentleman who, to use his own expression, had "in early youth imbibed virtuous sentiments and a love of liberty from Major Cartwright", came out of Lincolnshire expressly for the same purpose, and returned on the following day.

that a renewed effort I am making, to second that Northern Union in the metropolis as a centre, and thence, with God's assistance, in all directions, will probably produce good fruit.

"The means used are in a declaration of the principles of reform, accompanied by appeals to the heads and hearts of Englishmen, such as I trust are not likely to fail.

"I have no doubt that the Crediton men will make a good beginning in Devon, and even in the infected capital city, the address of thousands to the late Queen assures me that the disciples will be numerous. But much will depend on a good beginning, as a nucleus. I need not say to whom the reformers will look for that commencement in and around Exeter.

"Cornwall I understand is well disposed—very well—but I have only a personal acquaintance with a few whig leaders, who, although they go much farther than their eastern brethren, have yet their absurd prejudices against true radical principles. Perhaps you, who are so much nearer the Land's End, may find means of communicating with the genuine Cornish Reformers, and let us find our way to the true Cornish heart.

"I have communicated with Mr. Hume. He has searched all the authorities quoted by me, and is going to the bottom of the military part of our constitution, and the villanies practised for substituting in its place the abomination of a standing army. When I observed to him, that all he had

so well done in hunting out and exposing abuses, must end in mere vanity and vexation of spirit, unless followed up by a radical reform, I saw no symptom of dissent, no whig evasions, no desire to shut the mental eye.

"If I can find time, I will read Hody; but we want no convictions of the necessity of restoring freedom, nor any information touching the principles on which we must act as means in practice. With these at our finger-ends, all we stand in need of are actors and co-operators. For these we must circulate our plans of union. Up, then, and be stirring!

"The ladies desire to join with me in best wishes to Mrs. Northmore and all the young ones.

"Yours, truly,

"JOHN CARTWRIGHT."

In this year were published "Hints to the Greeks" by Nestor ΛΟΓΧΟΦΟΡΟΣ· in which some manœuvres are described and recommended, of which the late Lieutenant-General Long remarked, that they seemed the result of long and extensive study and experience in the art of war, rather than the suggestions of a man who had so many other subjects of occupation.

Major Cartwright also published in this year another letter addressed to Mr. Lambton.

In the September of this year he visited his nephew Mr. Hodges, and in a letter to Mr. Hume

dated Hemsted-Place, 28th of September, he remarks, "I have long thought with the sagacious Franklin, that it is not only right to strike while iron is hot, but that it is very practicable to heat it by continual striking, and as far as my purse would permit, have acted upon this principle."

On the 14th of March, another Middlesex meeting was held at Hackney, at which several resolutions, from the pen of the venerable reformer, were passed, one of which was as follows—

"That there is no mystery in the means of reforming the Commons House, since all it requires is comprised in four very plain and simple propositions, namely;—

"1st. That all male commoners, at the age when made liable to serve in arms for the national defence, be entitled to vote for representatives.

"2d. That each member shall represent a population as nearly equal as practicable.

"3d. That for securing the inheritance of unabridged liberty to every generation, without postponement, a new parliament be annually elected.

"And 4th. That as a shield against oppression for freely voting, all suffrage be by ballot."

In April of this year, Major Cartwright, thinking himself libelled in a work entitled, "The Book of Wonders", instituted proceedings in the Court

of King's Bench against the author; but a slight omission of a word in the legal form of the declaration, occasioned the plaintiff to be nonsuited.

Mr. Denman moved for a new trial, on the ground that the omission did not alter the sense; but the Chief Justice contended that the omission was fatal, and that the words of the defendant being rather directed against Mr. Cobbett than against Major Cartwright, that gentleman had no cause for complaint. It is somewhat remarkable, that after having all his life been subject to the most virulent attacks, without appearing even to notice them*, he should have considered this as worthy his attention. It consisted of an expression, indicating that he had laid down as an article of his creed, that we must, in fighting the enemy, not reject the use of even despicable and detestable men.

It may be mentioned, as a proof of Major Cartwright's good temper and indulgence in his own family, that he suffered himself to be laughed at for his sudden and unusual fit of captious soreness, and even joined in the laugh against himself.

In September, 1822, Major Cartwright visited Southend, in Essex. This excursion greatly benefited his health, which had been hitherto declining. After spending a month there, with his fa-

* It was his maxim, that a public man was worth nothing, unless he was sometimes abused; for that abuse was generally in proportion to the good accomplished.

mily, he returned to London in October, to pursue with fresh vigour his political occupations.

" TO T. NORTHMORE, ESQ.

" 10th of October, 1822.

" MY DEAR FRIEND,

" I have happily discovered a Yorkshire conspiracy for ultimately quashing Fawkes's proposed county meeting. The tactics I presume would be, to find good whiggish, prudent, plausible, reasons for procrastination, and yet amusing the reformers with hopes of having one at a proper time. Nothing could, however, be more fortunate than this conspiracy, as it will call forth the radicals to take the lead instead of being misled.

" In consultation with Wooler, I have drawn up a form of requisition for constitutional reform. Nearly twenty counterparts will, within these two days, be in all the populous parts of Yorkshire, and in good hands for collecting the signatures of freeholders.

" Thus the aristocrats must now follow instead of leading—especial care will be taken to be early with the sheriff for securing a priority ; as I have had experience of whig tactics. When they find a patriot requisition afloat, they strike off one on the whig pattern, get it signed by a few grandees, and hasten to the Sheriff, that he may call the meeting for *their* object, and that the true reformers may be shut out.

" I am extremely anxious for things being well and wisely and harmoniously managed in Yorkshire.—Considering that Wooler is a Yorkshireman, and that he has a commanding eloquence combined with strict principle, and a heavenly sweetness of temper, how desirable it is that he should attend the meeting; but, alas! he is not a freeholder.

" The other day two persons called to consult me about a meeting for appointing a committee to prepare for Hunt a popular reception in London. —I gave them my frank opinion, that, unless the matter was likely to produce a spontaneous and very unanimous ebullition of public feeling the good effect would be doubtful; and I called to their recollection two known parties likely to counteract unanimity, and possibly to create confusion.—Hunt has gained much credit both in and out of parliament, and for the sake of the public, we ought to hope he will not risk a diminution of it. It will require extraordinary circumspection, and a dignified line of conduct; but after all, he ought to know his own case best, and I do not wish that any persons should endeavour to divert him from that course which, on mature consideration, he may think wisest and best. We had a pleasant radical dinner on the 28th, when the old Major entered his eighty-third year. Wolseley, Strickland, Docilli, a young Neapolitan, &c. &c. were present. Best remembrances to Mrs. N. and the young brood, from yours radically."

Among other gratifying testimonies of respect which he was in the habit of receiving from distant parts of the country, a vote of thanks was passed in the month of October at a public meeting at Leeds * for his unwearied exertions in the cause of radical reform, accompanied by a hope that he might live to see the people, for whom he had been so long and so zealously engaged, enjoying the good effects of that reform.

This wish was not realised as far as related to his own country; but it is a satisfaction to the mind of his friends, that he was permitted to behold the sun of liberty dawning on another hemisphere. He had witnessed, with intense interest, the struggle between the colonies of North America and the Mother-country; he had seen them free and independent; and, before he closed his mortal career, those of South America had shaken off the yoke of Spain, and had taken their place among the nations.

About this time the work entitled "A Voice from St. Helena", by Barry O'Meara, Esq. late surgeon to Napoleon Buonaparte, was the subject of general conversation; and as the writer, by mere chance, made a memorandum of Major Cartwright's remarks upon the subject of this publication, they will be here inserted.

How often since his death has there been reason

* A similar compliment had been paid him in the preceding year on the 11th of September.

to regret that this had not been her constant practice!

"The second volume", said he, "appears to me the most interesting; with the first I was disappointed. There was a querulousness in the complaints of Buonaparte which was inconsistent with real greatness. I saw nothing of that dignity of mind which suffers in silence, and disdains complaint. Besides which, I began the book with a great prejudice against one who could sacrifice the opportunities he enjoyed of liberating Europe, to the contemptible objects of personal aggrandisement; against a man who might have been a Washington, and yet became a despot—who was the Pericles of the Parisians, and while he adorned and beautified their city, destroyed their liberties. Yet, notwithstanding his despotism, it must be allowed that he possessed an exalted genius; his code of laws, his works of art, must immortalize his name; and when I think of some of the reptiles by whom the continent of Europe is now enslaved, he appears a transcendant character in the comparison."

It being remarked by the gentleman, with whom he was conversing, that our Government had gained nothing by his death, Major Cartwright continued, "It was certainly impolitic, as well as unjust, to torment him by unnecessary degradation or restraint; had he been immediately subjected to the sentence of a hasty tribunal, there might, in such a proceeding, have appeared a show of justice, a glare

which might have blinded common minds ; but the slow death to which he fell a victim, makes him an object of general compassion, and without conferring any advantage, has fixed an indelible stain on those by whom it was inflicted."

In the beginning of December, Major Cartwright sent a requisition to the Duke of Bedford for a county meeting in Middlesex, accompanied by a letter, requesting his Grace's signature, but he declined, in terms of courtesy to the venerable writer, and of undiminished interest in the cause of reform, to take any part in the meeting ; having already, on account of ill-health, been obliged to refuse signing two other requisitions of the same nature in other counties.

During this year, Major Cartwright published a letter to the Edinburgh Reviewers, and his Letters to Lord John Russell.

" TO THOMAS NORTHMORE, ESQ.

" 6th January, 1823.

" MY DEAR FRIEND,

" The whig manœuvre about a smuggled requisition in Devonshire, may be easily defeated by the common freeholders putting one in circulation, as was done in Yorkshire. Without consulting any whigs in Middlesex, the radicals have now a requisition numerously signed ; and I am daily and hourly expecting Wood's appointment for attending the Sheriff. Peter Moore, who yesterday dined with me, will be of the party.

"I have lately had a good account from Spain. I am informed that a translation of my Bill of Rights and Liberties is in hand there. I wish they would correct their mode of electing members of the Cortes: three successive strainings, whereby there can be nothing more likely than that in the end the representative chosen by the very few who have the final straining, may be one whom a great majority of the collective body would not have elected.

"This erroneous practice was recommended by David Williams to the French, at the time of their revolution. It had before been recommended by Hume.—The ladies join in every good wish to all at Cleve.

"Yours radically,

"JOHN CARTWRIGHT."

The proposed Middlesex meeting being fixed for the 6th of February, a deputation from Mr. Whitbread's committee waited on Major Cartwright on the 4th of that month. The object of these gentlemen was to persuade him to give up his own intended resolutions; and, for the sake of expediency and unanimity, to adopt others which they proposed, of a temporising nature.

After a long argument, maintained on both sides with equal courtesy and good humour, it was found impossible to persuade him of the propriety of giving up or of modifying his resolutions. The gentlemen therefore politely expressed their hope that

he would not be offended if they also persisted in their intention, that of proposing an amendment—"Surely not," he replied; "for discussion is what I desire; I am less afraid of defeat than of omitting what I consider my duty."*

It is impossible to describe more happily this intractability of character, than has been done by a

* On this subject he expressed himself more at length on the day after the meeting, in a letter to one of the gentlemen who composed this deputation:—

"I hope I shall now stand justified, in your opinion, for having thought it more proper, that it should be left to the assembled freeholders, to determine on the line to be taken, than that I should have concurred in recommending, on ideas of expediency, any thing short of the rights and liberties of our country, since by humility, those freeholders, on seeing what was previously thought advisable by those friends of the public, headed by the county members who took the hustings, might have been induced, contrary to their genuine opinion and wishes, to have concurred in what, as I am convinced, is not warranted, either by the constitution, or by the knowledge of this enlightened age, or on the principles of true wisdom.

"But indeed, Sir, my experience and my reason both forbade me to depart from what, forty-seven years ago, I published on the important subject, and had more and more been confirmed in, by my observations on the conduct of persons, who, in my humble judgment, have too much leaned to party expediency, and too little submitted their minds to those principles of government, which are eternal, and ought to be the guides of political conduct.

"On an enlightened view of expediency itself, which is only the *wisest* way of doing what is in itself right, I have ever been persuaded, that it is far better to contend for what is correct in principle than to put that out of sight, although defeat at first should even be expected."

powerful writer, who says, that "though Major Cartwright was as gentle as a child, mild in his voice and manner, modest to the last degree, and unwilling to give unnecessary offence, yet that he could as soon be wheedled or cheated out of one jot of principle as he could be defrauded of his heart's blood."

"So far as union is desirable," says he, in a letter to Mr. Walker, 12th of June, 1818, "it is only a union on principles which virtue and true wisdom will approve, that is to be valued; *success* I hold to be a very inferior consideration. If not on right principles, it will have no sound point. If, while acting as becomes men enlightened on the subject of liberty, we shall fall, it will be with honour, to rise again with augmented strength; but if we fall in pursuit of a crooked policy, it will be with disgrace."

This was the last meeting of the Middlesex freeholders which Major Cartwright attended, and was almost the last time that he appeared in public. It is therefore gratifying to record that, in mentioning to his family the circumstances which occurred, he spoke of it as one of the happiest days of his life. Never, indeed, had he enjoyed a more unqualified triumph; for the amendment above alluded to was negatived, and his own resolutions carried almost unanimously.

Never was he observed to speak with more apparent ease to himself, with greater force and energy. Among the spectators were some distin-

guished foreigners who had not before been present at an English popular meeting. These gentlemen not only expressed their surprise and delight at witnessing such mental and bodily exertion in one so aged, but were equally gratified in observing his cheerfulness and alacrity of spirit, amidst the social group which met that day around his hospitable board.

The resolution proposed by Major Cartwright, and seconded by the Rev. William Draper, was as follows :—

" That much calamity having been experienced in consequence of the people of this realm not being constitutionally represented in parliament—a defect which may in a great degree be ascribed to an omission at the period of the revolution in 1688, when, in the Bill of Rights, parliament so emphatically ' claimed, demanded and insisted upon the rights and liberties of the people,' but unfortunately omitted to specify in what they more pre-eminently consisted—it is, in the opinion of this meeting, become necessary to declare, that in their judgment, in order to re-instate our sacred constitution on its true principles, that so, henceforth the people may be in real possession and the actual enjoyment of those rights and liberties which, at the period aforesaid, were only indefinitely declared, the elections of representatives and the duration of parliaments ought to be as follows :—

" 1st. That all males, at the time when, by an

adult age, they become entitled to inherit such right and property in land, goods or chattels as may be theirs by the laws of man, may at the same time, as equals in the eyes of their Creator, likewise enter into full possession and the actual enjoyment of that superior and more sacred right and property, which by the law of God belongs to them, as intellectual, moral and responsible beings, endowed with a sense of right and wrong, and free will to choose between good and evil, by which inherent, superior and sacred right they are evidently entitled, equally to share in electing and appointing those persons who are to make laws which must have power over their liberty, their lives and properties ; and consequently by causing to them prosperity, or adversity, happiness or misery.

"2dly. That the legislative representatives of the people may be chosen in and by districts as equally populous as may be practicable without inconveniently subdividing parishes, wards, or other subsisting divisions of the population.

" 3dly. That not only in recognition of antient salutary usage, but likewise for completely securing to the people universally the sacred right of representation, as they successively attain adult age, as well as for erecting a strong barrier against the tyrannical and ruinous practice of taxing unborn generations, and thereby crushing liberty in the very egg ; the representatives of the people be chosen annually.

"4thly. That as a right to an end includes a right to the means, and as no man ought to be exposed to ruin or persecution for freely voting, the elections ought to be by ballot."

In this resolution, almost the last which Major Cartwright offered to the notice of a public assembly, we see compressed the leading objects of his long and laborious life—the very objects which first caught his attention, as necessary to the happiness and freedom of a state; the very objects which in his first essay on the subject of politics in the year 1776, he recommended to his countrymen.

The petition founded on the resolutions was long and argumentative. It began by shewing that the expenditure of the nation previously to the revolution of 1688, had been uniformly kept within the limits of its yearly resources, and that the present generation, on account of the debt contracted since that period, are now yearly taxed more than forty millions. The petition then speaks of two evils of great magnitude which took their rise in one and the same year, the year 1694. One of these was the triennial act, which precedent, shortly afterwards introduced, was the prelude to a deeper stab on the liberties of the nation in the shape of septennial parliaments. The other evil complained of, was the funding system, relative to which the attention of the House was called to this striking fact, which, through the medium of

the press had three years before been laid before the public uncontradicted; namely, that in the course of seven hundred years, including the reigns of thirty-one kings, from William I. to the demise of George II. the English Government did not expend in principal money quite eight hundred millions of pounds sterling, whereas, in the single reign of George III. the same Government squandered in principal money, a sum exceeding two thousand three hundred and forty-seven millions.

The petition, though lamenting the existence of the funding system, yet expresses an opinion that justice requires, before a lessening of the dividends shall be determined on, that all sources of retrenchment, and all means of relief be explored, so that no particular class or classes of the community may be made exclusive sacrifices to public salvation; and to this end proposes several resources, such as an abolition of sinecures; the cession of all unprofitable foreign possessions, such as the Ionian Islands; the introduction of free governments into all colonies, for lessening the expense of holding them, and attaching them as allies to the English interests; the disbanding of the standing army; and a revision of the plan for remunerating the ministers of the Established Church.

This petition was signed by the freeholders, and the county members were requested to present it, which was accordingly done; and Major Cartwright had thus the satisfaction of knowing, that

almost the last effort of his political life was registered in the journals of the House.

A meeting of the county of Lincoln being in contemplation, Major Cartwright received a letter from a gentleman of that county, strongly urging his attendance on the occasion. Long journeys, and absences from the comforts of his own fire-side, had become so irksome to him, that he wished, if possible, to avoid so great an exertion; but as he found Sir Robert Heron averse from the adoption of a petition which he wished to propose, he determined on offering it to the meeting himself, and on visiting once more the county in which he had spent so many years of his life. He was induced to make this exertion on another account: on the occasion of a meeting held at Lincoln in the preceding year, he had written a letter to the sheriff, which was not read to the freeholders, according to his request; an omission on which he commented very strongly in Drakard's Stamford paper, in a letter dated May 10, 1822, signed Peregrine Falcon.

He accordingly left London on the 20th of March, accompanied by the writer of this narrative, who had the pleasure of witnessing the affectionate veneration with which he was received at every place where his person was known, or his name accidentally discovered.

This was, however, a pleasure frequently experienced by those who walked with him in the streets

of London; for hardly did a day pass without hearing expressions of whispered respect, or blessings emphatically pronounced on that worthy gentleman, "the good old Major"; expressions which, though generally lost upon their object, gratified the quicker ear and more disengaged attention of his companions.

On his arrival at Lincoln, he thus writes to Mrs. Cartwright:

"25th March.

"MY DEAREST AND BEST FRIEND,

"After two nights' rest on a double feather-bed, in the land of goose-feathers, I feel so renovated in strength, that I trust I may be able to encounter the labour of to-morrow, if I cannot get the amendment into other hands, as I shall strive to do.

"I landed F. at B. B., where I saw our amiable niece and her three fine boys, of whom I had a kiss in the chaise. On Thursday I shall visit the parsonage; but must hasten home, on account of my book and other matters.

"Colonel Johnson is, I find, of an old Lincolnshire family. I also learn, that he is an excellent man in all the relations of life."

The meeting took place, on the 26th of March, on the Castle Hill at Lincoln. The business was opened by Sir Robert Heron, who, after an appro-

priate speech, proposed a petition to the House of Commons, for reform, which was seconded by Sir John Thorold.

Major Cartwright then proposed a petition, which was seconded by Colonel Johnson. The Honourable C. A. Pelham, M.P. for the county (now Lord Yarborough), supported the original petition, and advocated what may be called moderate reform. Mr. Chaplin, M.P. for the county, then made a speech, in which he expressed himself in terms of respect towards the venerable mover of the amendment; candidly stating, that though an enemy to all reform, being perfectly satisfied with the present state of the representation, yet, were he called upon to choose between two evils, he would prefer, to the petition proposed by Sir Robert Heron, that which had been moved by Major Cartwright, as the most manly and explicit.

Major Allix and Lord Althorpe severally spoke in favour of the original petition, which, after an attempt at coalition with the father of reform (but rejected by him), was adopted by the meeting, and signed, on their behalf, by the sheriff; to whom thanks were voted for his urbanity in conducting the business of the day.

The same newspaper, from which this account is extracted, records, that the venerable Major produced a paper six yards in length, signed by persons in and near Boston, regretting that the

market-day having been chosen by the sheriff for the meeting, had prevented their attendance in favour of radical reform.

Though defeated in his endeavours to carry his petition, this excursion was very gratifying to him in other respects. His reception from many old friends, particularly from numbers of persons in the middling and lower classes of life, was, as usual, full of respect and kindness; to testify which, many persons walked over from Boston to Lincoln, a distance of nearly forty miles.

"TO COLONEL W. A. JOHNSON.

"April 3d, 1823.

"DEAR SIR,

"In answer to your obliging letter of yesterday, I am very sensible of your kind attention. It was, I assure you, with a strong feeling of reluctance that I left your hospitable roof last Monday evening; but a strong desire of breaking the length of my journey on Tuesday prevailed.

"We reached Stilton without inconvenience. I quitted a hard bed at six next morning, more fatigued than I lay down, but am to-day 'as well as can be expected'—at 82.

"Although unsuccessful in the particular point which carried me to Lincoln, and the journey painfully fatiguing, I never was more gratified or better repaid for any exertion. It has made known to me a member of a certain assembly, on whom a much-aggrieved nation may repose in full confi-

dence for exertion of right principles. Considering the present crisis in all its aspects, my imagination anticipates much good indeed!—Until your arrival in town, it will be my study how the incident may be turned to the best advantage.

"My opinion has long been, that reform, come when it will, will come suddenly; how soon, is known only to that Being by whose guidance alone we can succeed. He and his truth are omnipotent."

"TO THOMAS NORTHMORE, ESQ.

"9th May, 1823.

"Your idea of a dinner-meeting in favour of Spain has been working some time. A meeting for discussion is fixed for Thursday the 22d, with an intention of promoting a subscription. With Wooler I agree, that dinner-meetings for valuable objects are bad inventions; as, very soon after dinner the wine begins to take effect, all is noise and confusion; and although I am a friend to pithy and spirited toasts, they, in the way of utility, will not rank with able speeches and wise resolutions. As discussion is the great object, and that which must be depended upon for giving a tone to public opinion, as well as for placing in the fore-ground those who are capable of influencing that opinion, I hope you will be with us on this occasion, if only for that purpose.

"Foreseeing the cookery of a certain water-gruel, I kept back our radical petition of the

county of Middlesex, to be presented on a future day.

" I have now to request your acceptance of a copy of my new work, which I hope to put into your own hands."

On the 19th of May, Major Cartwright addressed a letter to Earl Stanhope (the son of his old friend so often mentioned in this work), on the subject of popular representation. In answer to the objections against universal suffrage, from which some persons anticipate anarchy and confusion, he mentions some remarkable facts furnished by the Inquirer for April, 1823.

It had been prophesied that a general massacre of the whites would follow the emancipation of the negroes in any West Indian island in which the experiment should be tried. The facts alluded to prove that no such result did arise in St. Domingo, from the decree of the French government in February, 1794, and that every thing remained in an orderly state, until the invasion of Le Clerc, in 1801, for the purpose of restoring slavery in that island *.

" Such ", says Major Cartwright, " is the answer of history and experience to the rash predictions of prejudiced false prophets."

At this time was published " The Constitution

* It is impossible here to enter into the details of this history; but the curious reader will be amply rewarded by consulting the work alluded to; in which he will find the interesting evidence given on the subject by the venerable General Vincent.

Produced and Illustrated", which Mr. Northmore, in a letter already quoted, denominates his last best work.

This treatise, whether considered as the composition of a man in his eighty-fourth year*, of one whose opinions Mr. Fox had declared, in the House of Commons, to be worthy of the greatest attention and respect, or, as containing the concentration of fifty years' study and experience in public affairs; might seem worthy of the attention of those who investigate the merits and defects of different publications. It was, nevertheless, with a very few exceptions, passed over in silence by the periodical publications of the time.

That its contents were not, however, considered by the publishers in general, of so insignificant a nature, is evident by the fears they entertained of its liability to prosecution †, so that the author, as on a former occasion, found it necessary to hire a small shop, where a confidential friend was employed as agent to dispose of the copies.

* Dr. Parr remarked to a friend, after its perusal, that the author wrote with more energy the older he grew, and that he did not believe there was any man of his age capable of composing such a work; adding, in a laughing tone, "except myself."

† In Major Cartwright's former works, he had confined himself chiefly to the subject of parliamentary reform, as connected with his own country. In "The Constitution Produced and Illustrated", he enlarges more on the principles of general legislation; and it is evident that the experience of years, and the researches he had made in the science of government, had strengthened rather than diminished the bias of his mind in favour of elective institutions.

In a letter to a bookseller, who had expressed some fears of the kind alluded to, he says, "I shall not be apprehensive of any prosecution for the mere opinion you quote, until I hear that the Bible Societies are indicted for publishing a book in which I find these words, "There is no God, I know not any." Should such an indictment be preferred, I imagine that the context, shewing the true object of the book, and the precepts it contains, would, to any jury not being bigotted atheists, and furious persecutors of any other opinion, prove a sufficient defence."

During the summer of 1823, Major Cartwright allowed himself but a few days of relaxation from his various labours, which he spent near Henley-on-Thames, at the house of Mr. H. E. Strickland, who having married one of his nieces, was endeared to him by the double tie of friendship and affection.

On his return to town, he wrote to the President of the Congress of Greece; and as a proof of his continued attention to the interests of that country, the following letter to one of the Greek deputies is here inserted, though of a later date than the period under consideration, being written only two months before his death:

"TO SIGNOR LURIOTIS.

"July, 1824.

"SIR,

"Desirous that you should know what I took

the liberty of suggesting to the Congress of Greece, I have the honour of inclosing you a copy *.

" The title of a ' Provisional Constitution' appearing an invitation to suggestions for its improvement, I had hopes that what I offered to the consideration of the Greek lawgivers, might be acceptable.

" Your present residence in England affording you an opportunity of consulting a variety of authors, who have thrown light on the science of government; and where there are not wanting many persons to assist your judgment, in respect to the correctness or incorrectness of what the writer has advanced; it should seem probable that you may be able to collect information serviceable to the patriots of Greece, in laying foundations for the future benefit of a country, to which all the enlightened of every nation must feel indebted, and for the future prosperity of which they must be warmly interested.

" I cannot, however, omit to offer it as my deliberate judgment, that the modern Greek lawgivers will most consult the true interest of their country, in adopting a form of constitution, the most perfect according to the present state of human knowledge; and that therein will be found

* In the Appendix will be found Major Cartwright's suggestions to the Provisional Government of Greece, in which he lays great stress on the difference between *constitution* and *law*. His opinion, on this subject, has also been manifested in his Letter to Mr. Quincy Adams in this volume, p. 132.

their greatest security against the insidious politics of Russia, or any other of the powerful despotisms. And considering the comparative diminutiveness of a Greek republic to the extensive empires in its vicinity, I am fully convinced that the establishment of a perfect constitution will be just as practicable, as any imperfect form of government which those empires, by their intrigues, may endeavour to cause to be introduced.

"That we may have an opportunity of conversing on the subject, I have to request that you and Signor Orlando, and your secretary, will dine with me on the 16th of this month, at five o'clock, when I shall hope to have the pleasure of my friend Mr. Bowring's company also. If you should happen to be engaged on that day, have the goodness to name any other after the 16th, which may suit you.

"I am, &c.

"JOHN CARTWRIGHT."

On the first of September, 1823, Major Cartwright had the satisfaction of entertaining beneath his roof, the wives of two of the principal leaders in the Spanish revolution.

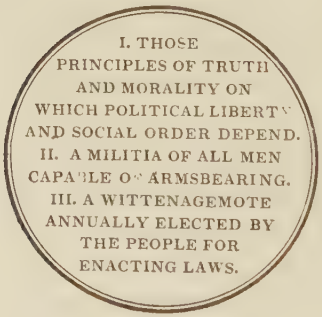
Doña Rafaella de Quiroga, with her little daughter, and Doña Theresa del Riego, having taken refuge in England from the storms which threatened their unhappy country, were received by the venerable patriot with all that courtesy and kindness, which their peculiar situation and engag-

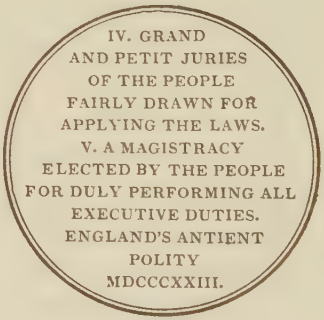
ing manners could not fail to call forth in his benevolent breast.

Seated on each side of their venerable host, and opposite to the busts of their absent husbands, which he had caused to be modelled for the Spanish dinner-meeting already mentioned, these unfortunate ladies offered to the eye of generous sympathy, a striking and interesting picture.

It is well known that Doña Riego, about eight months afterwards, and in the prime of youth and loveliness, followed her gallant husband to the grave.

About this time Major Cartwright caused several thousand medals to be struck, at Birmingham, illustrative of what he considered the five elements of the genuine polity of England.





On the 8th of October, he paid a visit to his nephew, the Rev. Edmund Cartwright, of Earnley in Sussex. He performed the journey with apparent ease, and seemed much delighted with the

retirement and rural aspect of that part of the country. His fondness for children has been already noticed, and he experienced peculiar satisfaction in the company of his great nephews, the youngest of whom, a child of four years of age, engaged the attention of the old sailor by sitting on his knee, and singing to him the favourite sea-songs of his youth. It was probably from those early associations, that every nerve seemed to vibrate with pleasure, as the little singer would vociferate "Turville on the Main", and the inspiring chorus of "Hearts of Oak."

But alas! this cheerful scene was of short duration; the unexpected news of the illness of a sister, together with the rapid decline of Dr. Cartwright, from whom, a short time before, he had received an animated letter, full of projected mechanical inventions, soon destroyed the good effects which had been anticipated from the sea-air, and the happy family circle in which he found himself.

He returned to town in about a fortnight greatly indisposed, and was soon after informed of the death of his brother, who expired at Hastings on the 30th of October, aged eighty years.

During his stay at Earnley, Major Cartwright addressed the following letter to a gentleman interested in the affairs of Mexico:

"TO SEÑOR LLANOS GUTIEREZ.

"18th of October, 1823.

"DEAR SIR,

"I need not say to you how much I lament the turn which things have taken in Spain, where it should seem that even the brave Catalonians will not be able much longer to resist the French armies that will be at liberty to unite for overpowering that province.

"I send you the form of a constitutional instrument for Mexico, the preamble of which is, of course, subject to such alterations as natives, better qualified than I can be to model them to the actual state of things, may find necessary to introduce.

"Six copies of an abridgment of my larger work on the constitution are about to be sent to Greece; and a learned Italian has made a translation of this abridgment into the language of Italy. I have also reason to expect that some French literati will do the same in respect to France*.

"Nations are properly jealous of foreigners who shew a disposition to meddle in their affairs; but still, when convinced that tendered services carry on the face of them a self-evidence of utility, that jealousy may yield to the patriotism which seeks

* It had been suggested to him by the Honourable Leicester Stanhope, in a note on the 24th of May, 1823, that such a translation would be extremely useful, and Major Cartwright lost no time in having it executed.

the general good. I believe you know that twelve years ago I sent to Señor Arguelles my Essay on the Independence of our own American Colonies, written in 1774, strongly recommending a declaration of independence of all the Spanish colonies of America*, by the Cortes of Old Spain.

"I therefore trust I may be now considered as a faithful counsellor to Mexico of twelve years standing; and that the present offering of an old friend and an old man, who must shortly be in his grave, will be received as a sincere testimony of good-will from one who ardently prays for the liberty of all mankind."

Major Cartwright did not live to know in what manner his suggestions were received by the Government of Mexico; but the following letter received some months after his death, afforded a melancholy satisfaction to his family:—

"Mexico, 10th of August, 1824.

"MOST RESPECTED SIR,

"With the utmost pleasure I heard of your health and that of your family, and with gratitude I thank you for the honour of your letter.

"The paper you sent, and a translation of the letter you deigned to write to me, I presented to the Congress. It was received with the greatest pleasure, and the instrument was ordered to be passed to the Committee of Constitution to be con-

* See letter to Senhor Arguelles in this volume, p. 15.

sulted immediately; as you will see by the report of the newspaper I send to my brother.

"The Mexicans, Sir, are grateful to you for your kind remembrance of them, and will take your advice on all occasions, as from a person truly attached to liberty and independence. For my part, Sir, I think, that after the punishment of the tyrant Iturbide, who was shot at Padilla, state of Tamaulipes, we shall accommodate matters so well, that our republic in short time will reflect liberty to all the corners of the world.

"Thanking you for the honour you did me, I beg to be remembered to your amiable family,

"And remain, Sir,

"With respect, &c.

"MATTEO LLANOS GUTIEREZ."*

To the distress which Dr. Cartwright's death occasioned his brother, was added the affliction suffered by the family of Riego, and the failure of all his hopes for the liberty and happiness of Spain.

Don Miguel del Riego, Canon of Oviedo, had been deputed by his brother to accompany Dona Theresa and her sister Dona Lucia del Riego, to England, and while the fate of the unfortunate General was in suspense, the agonies he endured were such as might be expected from one so devotedly attached to a beloved and only brother.

In these sufferings Major Cartwright so deeply

* This letter will shew how well the language of England is likely to be understood and written in Mexico.

sympathized, that the habitual calmness and fortitude of his character, almost forsook him, and for the first time in his life he seemed to lose the power of concealing his own emotions, or of controlling those of others.

When the fate of Riego was sealed, he circulated, in all parts of London, a hand-bill, in which the sorrowing friends of liberty were recommended to wear mourning as a testimony of sympathy in the overwhelming grief of the widow and relatives of that noble martyr to their cause; and he farther suggested that this mourning should continue thirty-eight days, the number of the years which had been granted to the sacrificed Riego.

Not contented with this expression of his feelings, he endeavoured by every means in his power to promote a subscription for a monument to perpetuate the melancholy event.

For this monument he formed a design, from which a finished drawing was executed by Mr. Gandy, and sent to the Royal Academy in Somerset House, but which was rejected on account of its subject.

"It is with regret", says a Royal Academician, "that I learn your drawing is inadmissible on account of the subject. I have made all the interest possible with the council: they have discussed the matter, and the majority are against it."

This design, the taste and simplicity of which have been much admired, is thus explained in the words of the inventor:

"The pedestal consists of three cubes placed in a line, and faced with white marble. In front they present a single entablature, but in the rear they are divided into three entablatures, for inscriptions in Spanish, English, and Latin. The ends of the pedestal are consequently faces of single cubes, for inscriptions in French and German. Two altars are allegorically introduced, as dedicated to liberty and eternity, and between them is seen Riego expiring in the arms of Fame. The grand front entablature tells the story of the hero's sword having been, in full Cortes, consecrated to his country."*

In the prosecution of this design, Major Cartwright spared neither time nor trouble; but though several patriotic gentlemen† joined in the attempt, and a meeting of the Common Council was held for the purpose of setting on foot a subscription,

* The drawing which represents this elegant design has been presented by Mrs. Cartwright to the Canon Riego, the general's brother, already mentioned.

† To one of these, Robert Slade, Esq. of Doctors' Commons, he thus writes: "It is our intention once more to give the Common Council an opportunity of doing themselves honour on the occasion, to which end we hope that you and Mr. Favell will revive the question.

* * * * * * *

"We must not be told that there are no precedents for monuments to foreigners, when they have been erected in this kingdom to Casaubon, St. Evemond, Schomberg, Theodore of Corsica (whose cause was first espoused by the government of this country, where he died in exile); also Paoli, and moreover Dumourier, lately interred at Henley. If he who turned renegade to the

the project died gradually away; and the increasing weakness of Major Cartwright, together with his disability, from pecuniary considerations, to further it as he wished, obliged him unwillingly to relinquish all hopes of its accomplishment.

"TO DR. BIRKBECK.

"15th Nov. 1823.

"SIR,

"Not having taken a note of who is, pro tempore, receiver of annual subscriptions to the London Mechanics' Institute, permit me to place mine, for being a member of so excellent an institution, in your hands, and to congratulate you on the birth of this additional child of your philanthropy, which, it is morally certain, cannot fail to confer happiness on its parent, and unspeakable benefit on the community.

"Although I shall esteem it an honour to be a member, yet, as not being an operative mechanic, I shall not think myself entitled to have any voice in the framing of its laws, or any claim to partake in its management; which, agreeing with those who have given like opinions, I am convinced must

cause of freedom has a monument in England, shall one be denied to Riego?

* * * * * * *

"Respecting precedents, however, it was well observed by a law luminary (Peere Williams), that for doing what is laudable, if precedents be wanting, 'tis fit we make one. All novel improvements in art or science—all first discoveries—all original benefits to society—are without precedent, and for that very reason pre-eminently honourable."

remain exclusively in the hands of the operatives alone, for insuring prosperity to the institution, or good to the public. With sincere respect, and more than respect,

"I remain, Sir, truly your well-wisher,

"JOHN CARTWRIGHT."

The arrival of the gallant Mina in England at this time, induced Major Cartwright, in common with many other friends of liberty, to wish that some public expressions of respect might be paid him on his entry into London, and to this end he addressed the following letter to Don Miguel Del Riego:

"13th December, 1823.

"MY DEAR FRIEND,

"The reluctance of General Mina to appear an object of admiration to an assembled multitude, is worthy of that intrinsic merit which dictates to man the faithful performance of a duty to his country and to mankind, on a principle that is to satisfy the mind by a sense of rectitude, which looks only to the approbation of that Being whose providence is over men and nations.

"But as Providence, for bringing about its purposes in human affairs, operates through the means of human actions, so whatever is naturally to be expected for the benefit of our country and of mankind, by any particular line of conduct, on any particular occasion, a good and wise man will

be ready to take into his consideration, and to act according to the result of his reflections.

" It is on that account the opinion, as I believe, of the English people, that if General Mina will consent to let it be known on what day he would arrive in London, such would be his reception, as to manifest to the world that the people of this country take so deep an interest in the cause in which he so nobly distinguished himself, as might not only influence the English Government to act rightly, but would also powerfully operate on the public opinion of Europe, so as best to counteract the machinations of the despots who are in a conspiracy against human liberty.

" This, my friend, is my firm belief, gathered not only from the abundant evidence furnished throughout the channels of our numerous journals, of the sentiments of the people in every part of the kingdom, but collected likewise from the concurrent judgments of persons in this capital, who are eminent for knowledge and virtue; in opposition to which are seen only a few, who are notorious for servility and venality, and on whom, there can be no doubt, hath plentifully fallen that shower of French gold, which hath been so lavishly poured down on unfortunate Spain.

" Thence it must be inferred, that if General Mina would consent to gratify our wish, he would thereby contribute to a recovery of Spanish freedom, which can only now be recovered by the same means as shall give freedom, in the first place, to

the enlightened portions of Europe, and then gradually emancipate the remainder, as the light of reason, and the inherent desire of liberty should be diffused in those states where now they are most kept down by the iron hand of an odious tyranny.

" On this occasion, my friend, I am pleading the cause of England, in whose political service I trust that, for half a century, I have been found faithful, and have not unprofitably laboured towards a recovery of those antient liberties, of which she now retains little more than the empty forms and names, and outward show of free institutions ; or, in other words, the mere husks and shells, while the nutritive kernels are devoured by the vilest and most contemptible insects.

" As, however, the tide of public opinion, which had so long favoured the voyage of arbitrary power, has at length turned in favour of freedom, and every day grows more and more rapid; the best hopes may be entertained that England may take a leading part in the recovery of European liberty; and I am convinced that if General Mina shall, on this occasion, comply with the earnest wishes of England, nothing would more contribute towards keeping alive in Spain that spirit of which he and Riego, in the hands of Providence, were the principal instruments in laying solid foundations on which the superstructure of as solid a freedom will yet, in due time, be raised.

" You, my friend, I am persuaded, have already

seen enough to entertain a similar opinion; and in that eloquence of the heart, which flows from the pen of enlightened patriotism, I trust for your inducing your virtuous and renowned countryman to suffer his private inclinations to give way to the public good of Spain, of England, of Europe, and of mankind, to which great end circumstances are now so favourable.

" I have the honour to subscribe myself,

" Dear Canon,

" Truly your friend and fellow-labourer,

" JOHN CARTWRIGHT."

On the 9th of February, 1824, was written what is believed to be the last of Major Cartwright's compositions which appeared in print. It is entitled a Problem, and exhibits no symptoms of decaying intellect, or diminished courage. See Appendix, No. XIX.

The following is of a different nature, and might be thought too trivial for insertion in this work, if it were not desirable to give a specimen of that playfulness which would occasionally break out amidst so many serious and harassing occupations :—

" To the Canon of Oviedo, greeting :

" Know that, for the love we bear the Spanish nation, we have determined that your head shall be taken off :

"Wherefore you are hereby required to appear before us at No. 37, in Burton Crescent, this day at eleven of the clock, clean shaved; when we shall in person forthwith guard you to the place of execution, our faithful executioner, John Henning*, being there in readiness for rendering us this acceptable service, that so, according to your deserts, you may be made a suitable example to your countrymen.

"Nothing doubting of your obedience to our reasonable command, to this writing we set our hand and seal, on Friday, the 13th day of February, in the year 1824.

"JOHN, the Father of many who hold the true political faith."

It is now the writer's painful task to record the progress of that decline of bodily strength, which in a few months carried to the grave the most beloved of friends and of parents.

In the month of April he made a short visit to his old friend Admiral Peere Williams Freeman, his messmate on board the Magnanime, and brother midshipman at the sea-fight between Hawke and Conflans. In the family of this gentleman, he expressed an opinion which he had hitherto carefully concealed from his own, that he felt an increasing feebleness, which warned him how short a time he

* Mr. Henning is well known as a sculptor, by various works of art, especially by his beautiful friezes, copied from the Elgin marbles.

had to live. Having called on his friend Mr. Holt White, at Enfield, on his road from Hoddesdon, that gentleman expressed a hope that he might see him again in the summer—his reply was, "I will come if I can; but I have strong indications that the old machine is nearly worn out."

On his return, this feebleness became more apparent from the daily diminution of his accustomed walks; but those about him still flattered themselves, that as he had no visible cause of illness, a suspension of his constant and arduous occupations might avert the dreaded event. In this hope they strongly urged his giving up, for a time at least, every exertion which tended to exhaust his strength; but, willing as he in general was to oblige them, he could not be persuaded to forego those mental exertions for the good of mankind which his approaching end made him consider more than ever necessary—nor did he allow himself any other recreation than that afforded by the visits of the friends and enlightened foreigners, who frequently spent the evening at his house. In these little parties he would converse with cheerfulness; and as he sat in his arm-chair, his countenance beaming with benevolence, and occasionally with animation, he exhibited a picture of virtuous and enlightened age, which none could contemplate without reverence and affection.

The following letters will sufficiently shew how completely his thoughts were awakened to the great change that awaited him; and when it is re-

collected that they were written so short a time before his death, and under the influence of extreme physical exhaustion, they may be considered as the effusions of an almost disembodied spirit, hovering on the brink of eternity.

"TO ——

"13th of April, 1824.

"MY DEAR SIR,

"Returning last night from my visit at Admiral Williams Freeman's, at Hoddesdon, I found your kind note of the 10th, and the North American reviews you had the goodness to leave for my acceptance. This token of your friendship, added to others previously experienced, have made a lively impression on the mind of one, who being in his 84th year can have little expectation of seeing you again.

"Although the separation, after the pleasure of having for a short time enjoyed your acquaintance, is one of much regret; yet I have a true satisfaction in reflecting on the pleasure you must experience, in visiting the many relations and friends of yourself and your lady, and in being a witness of human society in the full fruition of national freedom.

"Notwithstanding it is my fate to witness a very different scene, yet in the trust I have that reason, and the North American example, will sooner or later, in the dispensations of Divine Providence, cause a revival of European liberty, is a

consolation that cannot be taken from me; nor can a desire of promoting such a consummation, as far as the humble abilities of a private individual may contribute to that end, be ever extinguished.

With an earnest hope that your voyage may be prosperous, and that at your wished-for return you may find your worthy parents in good health, I beg to subscribe myself,

"Your obliged friend and servant,

"JOHN CARTWRIGHT."

"TO MONSIEUR GERARD BUISSON.

"20th of June, 1824.

"MY DEAR SIR,

"We are all much flattered by the friendly recollection of us expressed in your letter of the 20th of April.

"Like yourself, we are anxious to hear of our common friend the Baron de Zandt, especially as we learn from one of his nation, that many persons who entertain similar opinions, have lately, in his country, been deprived of liberty; but that knowledge is on the wing, which will bring the people and their rulers to be of one mind.

"As you, my dear Sir, do not meddle with state affairs, but devote yourself to the muses—the grave as well as the gay—we conclude that your personal tranquillity is secure from disturbance, and that in the bosom of your family, and in the circle of your associates, you have all the enjoyment you well merit. As to myself, my occu-

pations and amusements are what you witnessed them; for in my old man's chair, surrounded by those I love, and whose affection and kindness are far more gratifying to me than I can express, my life glides smoothly towards its close, with a degree of happiness for which I am truly grateful to those who so materially contribute thereto; and with a lively hope, that when the time of my translation shall come, my demerits may not be allowed to rise in judgement against me, but that the infinite goodness of our common parent will render that translation a better. That your course may be strewed with flowers, and ultimately terminate in your happiness, is the sincere wish of

"JOHN CARTWRIGHT."

There seems nothing so desirable in human existence, when that existence is prolonged to an unusual period, than to journey towards the grave in the possession of undiminished energy of mind, and with feelings of such cheerful resignation as we have seen displayed in the foregoing letter.

About forty years previous to this period, in a letter to one of his sisters, he thus expressed himself on the subject of the approaching dissolution of his mother, who was then eighty years of age; "With regard to the loss we must sustain, I will only remark, that although affection must necessarily feel a shock on such an occasion, it seems more desirable that she should gently and quietly depart in peace amongst her children, and before

greater infirmities should increase her sufferings, than that she should drag on the last links of life in misery of any kind, or with the loss or great decay of her intellects—what any rational being would wish for themselves, seems most consistent with every sentiment of duty and affection, to wish for those who are dear to us."

The wish thus implied was mercifully granted: no loss or decay of intellect, no feebleness, no irritation of the mind, no acute sufferings of the body, attended the closing period of his life*.

* In preparation for the event which awaited him, he allotted about this time, several little presents to his near relations, with care appropriating to his great nephews such books and articles as he considered might be most useful in their several professions. To one intended for the army, and who was the subject of the anecdote mentioned in this volume, p. 11., he gave his manual of instruction for the militia, several books on military subjects, and his militia sword, &c. To another, who was at that time a naval cadet at Portsmouth, his nautical charts, his tracts on ship-building, and Captain Shank's engravings of sliding keels, &c. He also wrote the following memorandum, which, however, was not found till a fortnight or three weeks after his decease:—

"The importance to society of medical knowledge is obvious. Medical knowledge must be founded on anatomical observation; and in proportion as physicians and surgeons are skilled in anatomy, will be their usefulness. That all students in medicine or surgery should *practically* study anatomy is doubtless necessary, since the mere theory to be learned from books cannot qualify a surgeon to perform difficult and delicate operations; nor can those who study medicine expect to improve their science, unless they shall add to books a practical knowledge of anatomy. Reflecting on the foregoing considerations, and also recollecting that the anatomy of our body by worms is unavoidable, it seems desirable,

The lamp, indeed, was sinking into the socket, but the flame so soon to be extinguished, burnt, even to the last, with pure and steady brightness.

Of the publication of his last work he thus speaks, in the month of July, in a letter to B. M. Beverley, Esq. :

" For my not sooner answering your obliging letter of the 29th of May, I have to plead occupation, the inertness of age, added to the defects of a broken constitution for the last fifty years, and considerable indisposition of many days past.

" I also deferred writing till I could announce to you the publication of ' Palim', a dialogue of twenty-four pages, a copy of which waits your acceptance.

" Its object is, to exhibit government in its sim-

for the benefit of society, that they should be previously dissected by the teachers of medicine and surgery.

" It is therefore my wish, that very soon after my decease, my corpse may be committed to the care of my friend Dr. Harrison, (if at that time in London,) or to Mr. Cline, or to the last attending physician, to be removed to Surgeons' Hall for dissection in a regular lecture, and then immediately deposited in its coffin, ready for being conveyed to the place of interment.

" But all this, relative to dissection, to be on condition of Dr. Harrison, Mr. Cline, or such last-attending physician engaging for the punctual observance of what I wish to be done, to the entire satisfaction of my executrixes, on whose consent the whole must depend.

" My own wish is, simply, that my body, after death, and before its dissolution, may be instrumental in promoting the good of mankind."

plest, and, as I think, its best form. It is intended in the way of instruction to those who interest themselves in the pruning of constitutions, as well as ultimately to guide those who aim at restoring the purity of our own. In consequence of some intimacy with friends of liberty, of Italy, Spain, France, and Germany, I am led to expect its being translated into all those languages. As many Spaniards and Spanish Americans are now here, I have thoughts, if my purse will admit of it, of printing a Spanish edition for distribution among them*.

"Touching this being 'not the day for the cause of the people', I am satisfied in your saying 'nil desperandum', since, although that cause does not at present produce any very conspicuous popular exertion, and in two certain houses experiences no encouragement, convinced I am, that it is working well in a diffusion of true political knowledge; and that the magnificent American mirror is daily enlightening the old world more and more. This being the case, and the wings of truth giving her now a tenfold velocity to what she was capable of in the earlier ages, we must be satisfied; but not without doing all we can to invigorate her."

In the same letter, he speaks of that early want of education which has been alluded to in the first

* In consequence of this wish, which he did not live to accomplish, it has been, since his death, fulfilled.

volume of these Memoirs. "As a completely unlearned man," says he, "who got no education at school, and little, as may be supposed, on a ship-of-war's deck, it is a gratification to me not to be expressed, that, from the noblest exertions of the learned, I find a confirmation in the principles which have been my guide in politics; and that the foundations I have laboured to establish must, as it should seem, be those on which all political morality and all political economy, to be just and useful, be raised. Indeed, amidst my regrets respecting the want of education, I sometimes think that the absence of learning, as well as the want of a retentive memory*, may have been fortunate circumstances, by confining my exertions to a contemplation of first principles, and to the legitimate conclusions of common sense, adapted to the understanding of the mass of a people.

"In the multitude of authors, those even of this class may possibly be of use, at least they are less likely to mislead the public, than those whose learning and logic can give to error an appearance of truth."

* His want of memory, though often lamented by Major Cartwright himself, was not perceptible to others. His extreme correctness in relating any circumstance, or in giving an opinion with regard to any fact, was remarkable. Perhaps his consciousness of a defective memory had taught him never to hazard any thing in conversation of which he was not positively sure; certain it is, that whoever repeated after him, might feel safe in so doing.

On the 13th of July, Major Cartwright had the gratification of receiving from the venerable Ex-President Jefferson, to whom he had sent a copy of his "English Constitution", a letter which is here given to the public.

It was a great pleasure to Major Cartwright to observe, that the signature of this letter was written in a hand no less firm and powerful than that which appeared in the declaration of American Independence, a copy of which Major Cartwright had framed, and hung up in his dining-room.

"Monticello in Virginia, June 5, 1824.

"DEAR AND VENERABLE SIR,

"I am much indebted for your kind letter of February 29, and for your valuable volume on the English constitution. I have read this with pleasure and much approbation; and I think it has deduced the constitution, inherited by the English nation, from its rightful root, the Anglo-Saxon. It is really wonderful that so many able men should have failed in their attempts to define it with correctness; no wonder then that Paine, who thought more than he read, should have credited the great authorities who have declared, that the will of parliament is the constitution of England. So Marbois, before the French revolution, observed to me, that the Almanac Royal was the constitution of France. Your derivation of it from the Anglo-Saxons seems to be made on legitimate principles.

Having driven out the former inhabitants of that part of the island called England, they became, as to you, Aborigines and your lineal ancestors; they doubtless had a constitution, and although they have not left it in a written formula, to the precise text of which you may always appeal, yet they have left fragments of their history and laws, from which it may be inferred, with considerable certainty, whatever their history and laws shew to have been practised with approbation, we may presume was permitted by their constitution; whatever was not so practised was not permitted; and although this constitution was violated, and set at nought by Norman force, yet force cannot change right; a perpetual claim was kept up by the nation in their perpetual demand of the restoration of their Saxon laws, which shews they never were relinquished by the will of the nation. In the pullings and haulings for these antient rights, between the nation and its kings of the races of Plantagenets, Tudors, and Stuarts, there was sometimes gain and sometimes loss, until the final reconquest of their rights from the Stuarts broke the thread of pretended inheritance, extinguished all regal usurpations, and the nation re-entered into all its rights; and although in their bill of rights they specifically reclaim some only, yet the omission of others was no renunciation of the right to assume their exercise also, whenever occasions should occur. The new king received no rights or powers but those expressly granted to him. It has

ever appeared to me, that the difference between the whig and tory of England is, that the whig deduces his rights from the Anglo-Saxon source, the tory from the Norman; and Hume, the great apostle of toryism says, in so many words, (note AA to chap. 42.,) that in the reigns of the Stuarts, 'it was the people who encroached upon the sovereign, not the sovereign who attempted, as is pretended, to usurp upon the people'; this supposes the Norman usurpations to be rights in his successors; and again, (c. 59.) 'the commons established a principle, which is noble in itself, and seems specious, but is believed by all history and experience, *that the people are the origin of all* JUST *power;* and where else will this degenerate son of science, this traitor to his fellow-men, find the origin of *just* power, if not in the majority of the society? Will it be in the minority, or in an individual of that minority?

"Our revolution commenced on more favourable ground. It presented us an album, on which we were free to write what we pleased; we had no occasion to search into musty records, to hunt up royal parchments, or to investigate the laws and institutions of a semi-barbarous ancestry. We appealed to those of nature, and found them engraved in our hearts, yet we did not avail ourselves of all the advantages of our position. We had never been permitted to exercise self-government; when forced to assume it, we were novices in its science; its principles and forms had entered little into our

former education; we established however some, although not all its important principles. The constitutions of most of our states assert, that all power is inherent in the people; that they may exercise it by themselves, in all cases to which they think themselves competent; (as in electing their functionaries, executive and legislative, and deciding by a jury of themselves both fact and law, in all judiciary cases in which any fact is involved;) or they may act by representatives, freely and equally chosen; that it is their right and duty to be at all times armed; that they are entitled to freedom of person, freedom of religion, freedom of property, and freedom of the press. In the structure of our legislatures, we think experience has proved the benefit of subjecting questions to two separate bodies of deliberants; but in constituting these, natural right has been mistaken; some making one of these bodies, and some both the representatives of property instead of persons, whereas the double deliberation might be as well obtained without any violation of true principle, either by requiring a greater age in one of the bodies, or by electing a proper number of representatives of persons, dividing them by lot into two chambers, and renewing the division at frequent intervals, in order to break up cabals.

"Virginia, of which I am myself a native and resident, was not only the first of the states, but I believe I may say, the first of the nations of the earth, which assembled its wise men peaceably together, to form a fundamental constitution, to

commit it to writing, and place it among their archives, where every one should be free to appeal to its text. But this act was very imperfect; the other states, as they proceeded successively to the same work, made successive improvements; and several of them, still further corrected by experience, have, by conventions, still further amended their first forms. My own state has gone on so far with its *prémiere ebauche*, but it is now proposing to call a convention for amendment. Among other improvements, I hope they will adopt the subdivisions of our countries into wards; the former may be estimated at an average of twenty-four miles square, the latter should be about six miles square each, and would answer to the hundreds of your Saxon Alfred. In each of these might be, 1. An elementary school; 2. A company of militia, with its officers; 3. A justice of the peace, and a constable; 4. Each ward should take care of their own poor; 5. Of their own roads; 6. Their own police; 7. Elect, within themselves, one or more jurors to attend the courts of justice; 8. And here give in at their folk-house their votes for all functionaries reserved to their election. Each ward would thus be a small republic within itself, and every man in the state would thus become an acting member of the common government, transacting, in person, a great portion of its rights and duties, subordinate indeed, but important, and entirely within his competence: the wit of man can-

not devise a more solid basis for a free, durable, and well-administered republic.

" With respect to our state and federal governments, I do not think their relations correctly understood by foreigners. They generally suppose the former subordinate to the latter, but this is not the case, they are co-ordinate departments of one simple integral whole. To the state-governments are reserved all legislation, and administration in affairs which concern their own citizens only; and to the federal government is given whatever concerns foreigners, or the citizens of other states. These functions alone being made federal, the one is the domestic, the other the foreign branch of the same government; neither having controul over the other, but within its own department. There are one or two exceptions only to this partition of power. But, you may ask, if the two departments should claim each the same subject of power, where is the common umpire to decide ultimately between them? In cases of little importance or urgency, the prudence of both parties will keep them aloof from the questionable ground; but if it can neither be avoided or compromised, a convention of the states must be called, to ascribe the doubtful power to that department which they may think best. You will perceive, by these details, that we have not so far perfected our constitutions as to venture to make them unchangeable—but still, in their present state, we consider them not

otherwise changeable, than by the immediate authority of the people, on a special election of representatives for that purpose expressly. They are till then the lex legum.

" But can they be made unchangeable? Can one generation bind another, and all others in succession for ever? I think not: the Creator has made the earth for the living, not the dead. Rights and powers can only belong to persons, not to things; not to mere matter unendowed with will—the dead are not even things. The particles of matter which composed their bodies make part now of the bodies of other animals, vegetables, or minerals of a thousand forms. To what then are attached the rights and powers they held while in the form of man? A generation may bind itself as long as its majority continues in life. When that has disappeared, another majority is in place, holds all the rights and powers their predecessors once held, and may change their laws and institutions to suit themselves. Nothing then is unchangeable but the inherent and unalienable rights of man.

" I was glad to find, in your book, a formal contradiction, at length, of the judiciary usurpation of legislative powers; for such the judges have usurped, in their repeated decisions that Christianity is a part of the common law. The proof of the contrary which you have adduced is incontrovertible; to wit, that the common law existed while the Anglo-Saxons were yet Pagans; at a time when they had never yet heard the name of Christ

pronounced, or knew that such a character had ever existed. But it may amuse you to shew when, and by what means, they stole this law in upon us. In a case of quare impedit, in the year-book, 34 H. 6. fo. 38. (1458), a question was made, how far the ecclesiastical law was to be respected in a common law court? And Prisot, c. 5. gives his opinion in these words—'A tiel leis que ils de seint eglise ont en *ancien scripture*, covient à nous à donner credence; car ceo common ley sur quels touts manners leis sont fondés—et auxy, Sir, nous sumus obligés de conustre leur ley de saint eglise; et semblablement ils sont obligés de conustre nostre ley: et, Sir, si poit apperer or à nous que l'evesque ad fait come un ordinary fera en tiel cas, adonq nous devons ceo adjuger bon, ou autrement nemy,' &c. See S. C. Fitzh. Abr. qu. imp. 89. Bro. Abr. qu. imp. 12. Finch in his first book, c. 3, is the first afterwards who quotes this case, and misstates it thus, 'To such laws of the church as have warrant in *holy scripture*, our law giveth credence', and cites Prisot, mistranslating 'ancien scripture' into 'holy scripture'; whereas Prisot palpably says, 'to such laws as those of holy church have in *antient writing*, it is proper for us to give credence'; to wit, to their antient written laws. This was in 1613, a century and a half after the dictum of Prisot. Wingate, in 1658, erects this false translation into a maxim of the common law, copying the words of Finch, but citing Prisot. Wingate max. 3, and Sheppard tit. 'Religion', in

1675, copies the same mistranslation, quoting the Y. B. Finch and Wingate. Hale expresses it in these words, 'Christianity is parcel of the laws of England.' 1 Ventr. 293. 3 Keb. 607., but quotes no authority. By these echoings and re-echoings from one to another, it had become so established in 1728, that in the case of the King v. Woolston, 2 Stra. 834, the court would not suffer it to be debated, whether to write against Christianity was punishable in the temporal courts at common law? Wood, therefore, 409, ventures still to vary the phrase, and says, 'that all blasphemy and profaneness are offences by the common law,' and cites 2 Stra.; then Blackstone, in 1763, IV. 59., repeats the words of Hale, that 'Christianity is part of the law of England', citing Ventris and Strange; and finally Lord Mansfield, with a little qualification, in Evans's case in 1767, says, 'that the essential principles of revealed religion are parts of the common law', thus engulphing Bible, Testament and all, into the Common Law, without citing any authority. And thus we find this chain of authorities hanging link by link one upon another, and all ultimately on one and the same hook; and that a mistranslation of the words 'ancien scripture' used by Prisot. Finch quotes Prisot; Wingate does the same; Sheppard quotes Prisot, Finch, and Wingate; Hale cites nobody; the Court, in Woolston's case, cites Hale; Wood cites Woolston's case; Blackstone quotes Woolston's case, and Hale; and Lord Mansfield, like Hale,

ventures it on his own authority. Here I might defy the best read lawyer to produce another scrip of authority for this *judiciary forgery;* and I might go on further to shew how some of the Anglo-Saxon priests interpolated into the text of Alfred's laws, the 20th, 21st, 22d, and 23rd Chapters of Exodus, and the 15th of the Acts of the Apostles, from the 23rd to the 29th verses. But this would lead my pen and your patience too far. What a conspiracy this between Church and State!!! Sing Tantararara, Rogues all, Rogues all; Sing Tantararara, Rogues all!

"I must still add to this long and rambling letter, my acknowledgements for your good wishes to the University we are now establishing in this state. There are some novelties in it: of that of a professorship of the principles of government, you express your approbation. They will be founded in the rights of man: that of agriculture I am sure you will approve; and that also of Anglo-Saxon. As the histories and laws left us, in that type and dialect, must be the text-books of the reading of the learners, they will imbibe, with the language, their free principles of government. The volumes you have been so kind as to send, shall be placed in the library of the University. Having, at this time, in England, a person sent for the purpose of selecting some professors, a Mr. Gilmer of my neighbourhood, I cannot but recommend him to your patronage, counsel, and guardianship, against imposition, misinformation, and the deceptions of partial and false recommendations, in the selection of

characters; he is a gentleman of great worth and correctness, my particular friend, well educated in various branches of science, and worthy of entire confidence.

"Your age of eighty-four, and mine of eighty-one years, ensure us a speedy meeting. We may then commune at leisure, and more fully, on the good and evil, which in the course of our long lives, we have both witnessed; and, in the mean time, I pray you to accept assurances of my high veneration and esteem for your person and character.

"THOMAS JEFFERSON."

To this letter, Major Cartwright returned an answer on the 28th of July, 1824, at the conclusion of which, after mentioning the various topics of Mr. Jefferson's "much valued letter", he says, "What now remains for me to add, but the expression of a wish to be favoured with your sentiments, on the expedience and utility of the *moral regulator* of manners in a republic spoken of in the tract I send you? It is a topic on which, for many years, the writer has bestowed much thought, and even, in spite of the chilling influence of increasing age, with an increased persuasion in its favour*.

"Should your Virginian library not possess West's

* Major Cartwright alludes to the institution of national games at stated periods, to be made subservient to the cause of morality, and to promote a variety of objects, desirable in a national point of view.

Translation of the Odes of Pindar, to which is added a Dissertation on the Olympic Games,—that admirable discourse will be pointed out to your friend Mr. Gilmer, as well worth the attention of statesmen, who at this critical juncture in human affairs, have pre-eminently in their hands the education of mankind, in the most sublime of all the sciences, that of political government.

"Conscious of the dulness and other imperfections of this heavy letter, the writer pleads the extreme decay of strength, not only of body, but of mind, which he has of late experienced. Nothing, indeed, would induce him to engage in such a task, but a hope, ere he go hence, of rendering some service to that cause in this world which he has most at heart.

"Trusting in your kind acceptance of this apology, and that you will favour him in reply with a line from your more youthful and vigorous pen, he subscribes himself truly,

"Your admiring friend and servant,

"JOHN CARTWRIGHT."

"TO JEREMY BENTHAM, ESQ.

"7th August, 1824.

"MY DEAR FRIEND,

"By the bearer (for I would not risk accident by the post) you will receive the letter of Thomas Jefferson; of which you are welcome to take a copy, or to make any application of its contents you please, as I well know that the public good is your sole object.

"Accept my best thanks for the list of your works, and the intimation of farther aid for the information of Mr. Gilmer.

"The letter of Thomas Jefferson is one I have received as part of a correspondence opened with a few leading men in America; in the hope, that in any future revisions of their several constitutions, they may avoid the complexity in their constitutional instruments, the copying of which proved so great a stumbling-block to Spain; as lamented in what is attributed to Galeano, in No. I. of the Westminster Review.

"The recommending simplicity in all such documents, is a leading object of the political dialogue, although, in respect of England, much more is aimed at in the working of time and truth.

"If, indeed, her constitution were from the first what I have endeavoured to shew, and the reflection of two years has confirmed me in that persuasion, a new and safe guide is furnished to the historian. Taking the principles of that original polity as a basis for his history, he will then have a criterion for ascertaining through the progress of events, whatever was in unison, or whatever is in discordance with the true constitution. He will, in particular, be able to appreciate the horrid havoc of the English liberties by the accursed Norman, and to unravel all the complexity and confusion which from the first introduction of the Norman counterfeit to this hour, have rendered our system an almost incomprehensible mystery. Nor will the historian be without a mirror, in which

may be seen the errors and the vices of both Whigs and Tories.

"If the author of the 'Constitution Produced and Illustrated' have had the good fortune to dig up from among the ruins and rubbish accumulating through thirteen centuries, the genuine antique which exhibits the true form of our polity, what remains to be accomplished for the glory and happiness of England, but a code of corresponding laws; and who but a Bentham shall furnish such a code?

"With such hopes, the author of the 'Constitution' is going down to the grave, perfectly satisfied that however that discourse may hitherto be supposed to have operated, it may in time do its office, that of pointing out to the disciples of liberty the right course for putting down and triumphing over the combined enemies of liberty."

Notwithstanding the skill and friendly attention of Dr. Harrison, who had formerly been for many years his physician in Lincolnshire, the state of Major Cartwright's health became more and more unfavourable; but unwilling to suppose it hopeless, his anxious family were induced to believe that change of air might remove the lurking fever which undermined his strength.

In this arrangement he acquiesced with his accustomed gentleness, though well aware that the remedy was useless, for when Mrs. Cartwright complained to Mrs. Holt White in his presence, of the injury he did his health by writing so many hours in the day, and added, that he had nothing

but debility to contend with, he turned his head to see if this beloved wife was not aware that debility at eighty-four years of age would be as fatal as disease; and seeing in her earnest look and energetic manner, that she really believed his recovery was attainable by rest and care, his whole countenance (to use the words of the lady already alluded to) was illumined with a most benevolent smile at her happy credulity, and he only shook his head in reply.

When farther urged by Mrs. White to come to her house for change of air, he remarked, "Dear lady, I feel that I carry the burthen of eighty-four years on my shoulders."

A small house being taken on the edge of the Lower Heath at Hampstead, Major Cartwright removed thither on the 10th of September, and on the first evening of his arrival, he seemed much revived, and observed, that he breathed more freely than he had done in London; the next morning, however, the amendment ceased, and from that time till his decease he laboured under a constant and most distressing oppression on the chest.

Among several whose anxiety led them to call upon him while at Hampstead, were his valued friends Mr. and Mrs. Holt White, with whom, notwithstanding his extreme debility, he conversed with much cheerfulness. Taking an opportunity, however, when alone with Mr. Holt White, he said emphatically, "White, they would not insure my life at Lloyd's for a fortnight."

Mr. White unable to deny this evident truth, endeavoured to conceal his emotion, and turned the conversation; after which, Major Cartwright proceeded to speak of the College which Jefferson was about to establish in Virginia, and thanked his friend for the communication he had sent him relative to works of literature, which might be of utility in the library of the projected institution.

He remarked, that he had hoped if his life had been spared a little longer, he should have completed his "History of Juries"; and during the whole of this conversation, he had the manner of of a person who is going to set out on a long journey, and who calls to mind every particular which it may be necessary to remember before his departure. Even the circumstance of a small book he had borrowed, and which he wished to have returned to the owner, was not forgotten. It has been since ascertained that the same impression had never been absent from his mind for several months.

While at Hampstead, as one of his family was reading to him the letters of Don Doblado on Spain, an idea having struck him which he thought might be inserted in the Spanish translation of his political dialogue, he, with great difficulty, wrote as follows; being frequently obliged to pause from extreme faintness. It was the last time he ever put pen to paper.

"It is to be hoped that the time is near, when the universal Spanish people shall feel the true dignity

of asserting that equality in which they came from the hands of their Creator, who made them all alike heirs by natural right of political liberty, as well as of eternal happiness, if merited by virtue.

"It was Almighty God, who in forming Spaniards for such felicity, made them *men*. It was a succession of tyrants, who, for reducing them to slaves, made them cavaleros, hidalgos, grandees, and taught them the contemptible nonsense of family blood. Virtue alone is true nobility: patriot services for establishing common right and universal freedom, are alone legitimate titles to public trust and distinction."

He also dictated a letter to General Michelena, envoy from Mexico, to recommend to him a young officer whose talents and information he hoped might prove useful in the service of that country. These two last efforts closed a long career of public exertion and private benevolence.

Finding he grew daily weaker, he was anxious to return home, and on the 16th of September he was with great difficulty supported up stairs to the back drawing-room of his house in Burton Crescent, where a bed had been prepared for him, and from which he never rose again. From that time, he might be said to be almost expiring, so great was the oppression on his lungs, and so painful his efforts for respiration.

But amidst all his sufferings he only lamented the fatigue and anxiety of those about him, and

when expressing his surprise, that with a frame so exhausted he should find it so hard to die, he frequently exclaimed in the most emphatic manner, "God's will be done."

Learning that some of his nearest relations had come from a distance to see him, after requesting that an interview so affecting to both parties might not be prolonged more than a few minutes, he desired them to be admitted, and gave them his last blessing; but his emotions, though suppressed, were evidently so extremely painful to his exhausted frame, that it became necessary for his tranquillity to refuse several subsequent applications of the same kind from those who were attached to him, and for whom he entertained a similar regard. When informed of the frequent enquiries of his friends and relations, he expressed great thankfulness for their attention; and requested the writer, at a suitable time, to give them the following remarkable message:

"Say to all enquiring friends, that I have never ceased to entertain the most consolatory hopes of the ultimate establishment of civil and religious liberty: but to this end, there must be *virtuous* instruments, which, it is to be hoped, the times will supply."

He also gave the same person some instructions which he wished should be attended to after his decease, among others, a letter to be written to

Mr. Jefferson. He called to mind some particulars respecting different sums of money which were owing to him, and which he desired might be claimed for the benefit of those he left behind him; expressing much anxiety for the welfare of his beloved wife, as well as for the comfortable establishment of his faithful and valued servant, Henry Banham, who had lived with him thirty-five years; and who, with a female domestic, resident twenty years in his house, shared with his wife and niece the painful task of watching the last hours of his existence*.

General Michelena (the Mexican minister) having about two days before his death, sent a kind message to inform him that the scheme of Iturbide had failed, and that the liberty of Mexico might be considered as established, he exclaimed with fervour, "I am glad, I am very glad!" These were almost the last words he ever spoke: his voice soon

* So many pleasing instances of attention occurred at this time from various classes of society, that the following circumstance can hardly be supposed to have been entirely accidental. It was observed, that during the last few days of Major Cartwright's illness, a perfect stillness prevailed in that part of Burton Crescent in which he resided, and that the usual noises, vociferous cries, &c. were discontinued. Among other instances of respect shewn to his memory in distant places, it is worthy of remark, that in a town where he was well known both as a public and private character, the inhabitants, wishing to mark their feeling on receiving the news of his death, notwithstanding the opposition which was made to their wishes by the Corporation, insisted on ringing what is called a dumb peal on the occasion.

after became nearly inaudible, but he was perfectly sensible to the last, and appeared absorbed in mental prayer.

He had expressed at Hampstead his conviction, that he should not live till his birth-day on the 28th of September, and this prediction was verified: for he expired on the 23d about half-past five in the afternoon, but so calmly, that the moment at which he ceased to breathe was hardly perceptible.

Of his personal appearance in latter life, an idea may be formed from the portrait at the head of the first of these volumes. It would be difficult, however, for any person who never saw him, to imagine the calm but dignified expression, the deep thought and habitual benignity of his countenance; still more impossible would it be to paint him, as he appeared, when any instance of cruelty and oppression, or of treachery to the sacred cause of freedom roused his sudden indignation, and called forth the lightning of his eye.

In youth, if we may believe the testimony of his contemporaries, he had been remarkably handsome, but the hardships he went through in Newfoundland, had early in life impaired his health, and given to his complexion that pale and sallow hue, which afterwards never left him. Except his upper lip, which was somewhat too long, his features were regular, and the form and colour of his eye most beautiful; his height was somewhat more

than five feet, ten inches, and his figure finely proportioned. A model by Mr. Macdowell of Seymour Street, Euston Square, which has been offered to the Committee for Major Cartwright's monument, gives a perfect idea of his appearance in the latter part of his life, and presents, in every respect, a striking, and, to those to whom he was most dear, an affecting resemblance.

His dress was peculiar, for in that he consulted convenience alone, and therefore, for many years, had not varied the form of his clothes to suit the fashions or whim of the day.

His manners were those of a perfect gentleman, and his deportment was peculiarly dignified and graceful. A young lady once remarked, "If I had seen Major Cartwright begging and in rags, I must instinctively have courtsied to him."

In the early part of his life he was passionately fond of field-sports, and particularly of hunting*, which he followed with his usual alacrity, till other more important objects engrossed his undivided attention.

That quality usually called courage, is in most men so much the result of natural constitution, that it would be ridiculous to dwell on the instances which might be given of his habitual coolness and insensibility to danger. The writer,

* His brother, Dr. Cartwright, who had been himself, when young, remarkable for his feats in horsemanship, once observed to the writer, that his brother John was in every respect the best and most elegant rider he had ever seen.

however, cannot forbear remarking, that except where the safety of others was concerned, it seemed as if the sensation of fear were a stranger to his breast.

Another feature in his character is, however, particularly deserving of notice, as being probably much more rare, and by many persons it should therefore seem, of more difficult attainment. It was the extreme tenderness with which he treated the private feelings of those with whom he was acquainted, and the caution he used in speaking of their affairs before others. This caution he inculcated in his family, both by precept and example; and nothing gave him so much pain as the mention in mixed company, or at table, of any circumstances relating to individuals, which they would not have wished to be made public. "Can we expect", he would say, "that discretion from our servants which we do not practise ourselves; and will they not naturally imitate us in repeating what may unnecessarily hurt the feelings, or injure the reputation of individuals?"

With a turn of thought so conscientious, it will not be surprising, that of all men who ever lived, none entertained a higher idea of the sacredness of friendly and confidential intercourse. It may be truly said, that he would have lost his life, rather than have betrayed a secret entrusted to his care.

Such a character, indeed, deserved to be beloved, and it is a pleasure to reflect, that even in this life,

he received the recompense of virtue. The ardent affection, the devoted attachment which he inspired in those whom he admitted to his friendship, continued, with a very few exceptions, to the close of his existence, and he died, as he had lived, amidst the blessings of all who knew him.

In his religious opinions he adhered to no particular sect or party*. He read the Scriptures daily, and drew from them his own conclusions; what those conclusions were, may be seen by the following extracts from a paper which accompanied his will.

Speaking of himself in the third person, he says, "The legal doctrines of the state-church not satisfying his judgment, he sought for truth in the Bible, and in Reason, equally, the revelations of the Almighty." The opinions in which he at length found rest and satisfaction were these:

"That God is I AM! the eternal! the self-existent! not powerful, but POWER; not wise, but WISDOM; not good, but GOODNESS. That he is one: a spirit without person; for in the idea of person who can exclude either form or limit? But what is the form of ubiquity? where are the limits of infinity? From the eternity and existence of the Deity, his UNITY cannot be, even in idea, separated.

"That Jesus of Nazareth is the Christ, the

* His favourite authors on theological subjects were Clarke and Jortin.

chosen one, the highly favoured of God, the Saviour of men, and their appointed Judge.

"That the proper good and happiness of man is only to be found in piety to God, and virtue towards his fellow creatures."*

In his will, dated in June 1824, he requested that his funeral might be conducted by his executrixes with all possible attention to economy. The following is the concluding passage:—"To my country, anxiously desiring her welfare, I leave a fervent wish for such necessary, deep, and salutary reforms in her institutions, as would not only restore her lost freedom, but purify from the odiousness and debasement of unfaithfulness and corruption, all her public departments. By a complete restoration of her genuine polity (which I have endeavoured to place before her eyes), she might, in my humble judgment, so correct the morals and habits of her people, as to establish on a solid and enduring basis, her future liberty, prosperity and renown. To this end she must cease to follow the example of conquering states, which, from small beginnings, become what may be considered as vast pyramids, absurdly resting upon their points, with their broad foundations in the air, from the

* In his writing desk were found many scraps of paper, on which were written various texts of Scripture; on one of these, apparently of very recent date, were the following;—Psalms, ix. v. 9. Isaiah, xvi. v. 4. 2d of Kings, 4th chap. Proverbs, xxviii. v. 16. Jeremiah, xxi. v. 12. Jeremiah, xxii. v. 3.

unnaturalness of which position they necessarily fall in ruins, misery, and contempt. When England shall restore the simplicity of her original polity, she will have a basis sufficient for stability, felicity, and glory; and then, instead of insanely making her state to resemble an inverted pyramid, she, by merely colonizing on her own natural, sound, and constitutional principles, may spread to a wide extent, confederate nations, sincere friends to her welfare, firm supports of her greatness; and in place of jealous rivals, or secret and insidious enemies of her repose, she would raise up around her willing ministers to her aggrandizement."

His funeral took place at Finchley*, on the 30th of September, where he was deposited in the same vault with his third sister, who died in the year 1817. According to his desire, only one mourning coach followed his remains, in which attended, as chief mourners, his nephews, the Rev. Edmund Cartwright, and Thomas Law Hodges, Esq.; Henry Eustachius Strickland, Esq., who had married the eldest daughter of Dr. Cartwright, and John Charles Girardot, Esq., the nephew, by marriage, of Mrs. Cartwright.

But notwithstanding the impossibility of any farther attendance on the part of his family, several

* Finchley was formerly the residence of Major Cartwright's grandmother on the mother's side; who married for her second husband Counsellor Fothergill of that place, by whom the vault was built.

of his friends could not be induced to forego the melancholy satisfaction of joining in the sad procession; and besides these were many other persons in a humbler situation of life, who, in carts and on foot, paid him this last tribute of heart-felt respect.

The service was read in an impressive manner by Mr. Worsley, rector of Finchley, and an eye-witness* thus speaks of the melancholy ceremony:—

"I cannot help expressing to you, and Mrs. Cartwright, those feelings of melancholy consolation which I am certain must have been entertained by all present, in common with myself, that the last honours were paid with an unostentatious dignity, sobriety, and a sweet quietness, consistent with the great, good, and venerable character we so truly regret; whose memory we shall ever esteem as long as we have any sense of either virtue or freedom."

A few days after the ceremony, a subscription was set on foot for a public monument to his memory; and on the 20th of June, 1825, a meeting took place, at the Crown and Anchor, in furtherance of the same object.

The following account of the proceedings is taken from the newspapers of the 21st of June:—

* William Hopkinson, Esq. of Stamford, in Lincolnshire.

"MONUMENT TO MAJOR CARTWRIGHT.

"A public meeting was held yesterday, at the Crown and Anchor Tavern, of friends and subscribers to this intended monument. At half past one the chair was taken by Sir Francis Burdett, who addressed the meeting at some length. He said, 'that the purpose of their assembling was, to perpetuate the remembrance of one, whose long and laborious life had been devoted to those great principles upon which liberty depends, and to the devising means whereby that liberty might be obtained and secured. He was known by the various works with which, from time to time, he had enlightened the public mind—inculcating the rights of his countrymen, and aiming to promote their freedom. Major Cartwright was one whom, whether regarded in public or private life, it was impossible not to venerate and to love. In the former, he was marked by the most persevering magnanimity: in fact, he stood unrivalled in the zeal and courage with which he encountered every opposition, and shrunk not from danger of the most appalling kind.—(Applause.) Consistency was a prominent feature of his character. He was the same under all political aspects—the undaunted patriot, in the midst of dangers and in the worst of times.—(Hear, hear.) He lives in the works with which he has instructed his countrymen. One of these I regard as unexceptionably excellent; it

was written at the time when a French invasion was threatened, and when this country was in various ways (not altogether the most constitutional) put upon its defence. The suggestions of Major Cartwright in that admirable pamphlet, if followed up, would have rendered the success of that invasion hopeless, and have placed his countrymen in a position in which their liberties could never be assailed by any foreign or domestic foe. I never', said the Hon. Bart., 'could read that work without feelings of the deepest admiration; it is grounded upon the recognized principles of public rights; it is entwined with all our feelings as Englishmen, who are determined never to cease to struggle with all who would overturn or undermine those rights. I cannot, by any stretch of imagination, conceive any Greek or Roman virtue surpassing the public and private worth of my deceased friend. His whole life was a life of principle—a bright display of the love of general liberty and of individual benevolence.—(Great applause.) I never knew a man who had such an extensive aim; the happiness of the human race was his object, and he would have been at any time proud to have sacrificed his life in this sacred cause. These sentiments followed him to his death-bed, and his last thoughts were those of his country.—(Hear, hear.) His last efforts were transmitted to me, and I saw no indications of decaying intellect,no abatement of the fire of patriotism.—(Great applause). The same disinterested feelings animated him to the

last, as those which led him to the sacrifice of all personal and private advantage during his honourable life. No man had more opportunities or qualifications for advancing himself in the world—none in the race of excellence more likely to attain the goal.—(Hear, hear.) He possessed every requisite for any line of distinction: a powerful understanding; unconquerable energies; firmness of purpose which would flinch from no danger; and these united to a mildness, an amicability, a gentleness which won over every heart.—(Great applause.) His character was purely *English*.—(Great applause.) No tinsel, no glitter; all was solid and sterling worth; the very nature of his mind led him to a straight-forward, manly, upright, British course. Indeed, some objected that he was too uncompromising and impracticable; I doubt, whether if so, he was not therefore the wiser and the honester, or at least the more unsuspected.—(Applause.) By this unbending integrity I think he has more advanced the great cause of constitutional liberty and knowledge, than by adopting a more pliant course. But I cannot consent to call him impracticable. Wheresoever was any rational hope—I will not say of success, for success in what he proposed was not to be expected; his views were too extensive; his virtues were too great for the times in which he lived—(Applause — but wherever was the probability of public advantage, I have repeatedly seen him sacrifice his private feelings, and not refuse a compromise for the general good. The fact is, that he lived

not in times when any thing was to be obtained; and this must serve as an answer to those who ask, What was the amount of his labours? But he advocated principles in which all are interested; he called forth the energies of the British people to great constitutional topics; and, by this uncompromising spirit in an age when nothing was to be gotten by a more subservient policy, we have, at least, this benefit from his labours—that we may hope that his bitterest opponents will yet grant us something, though they are not prepared to give us all we have a right to demand.—(Great applause.) The more closely I contemplate his character, the more am I convinced that it stands without a parallel in this country, and I think it not produced, nor produceable, in any other country.—(Great applause.) I see so rare a combination of heroic devotedness, and the gentlest virtues of humanity; such a freedom from the paltriness and ostentation, the vacillating and timid policy of time-serving, self-seeking, pseudo-patriots, that I look on it as a debt from his countrymen, to mark, by some public monument, their gratitude for the devotedness of his life, spent in their service, and for the maintenance of their noblest privileges.'—(Great cheering.)

"Sir Francis then read the several Resolutions, which announced the expediency of continuing open the list of subscriptions until a sum, not exceeding £2000 should be raised, in order to perpetuate, by a suitable monument, the great public worth and private virtues of Major Cartwright. It

appeared that £500 had already been subscribed, and the present meeting was called pursuant to resolutions of the Committee, assembled on the 1st inst. at the house of Peter Moore, Esq. M. P., with whom, and other friends of the deceased, the idea had originated, at the time when the Major was interred (October, 1824).

" Mr. Rutt said, ' that he had known Major Cartwright for more than forty years, and had first met him in a society constituted for promoting Parliamentary Reform: a project which he who had been dubbed " the heaven-born Minister "—(a laugh) abandoned, but to which Major Cartwright adhered consistently to the last.—(Hear, hear.) He (Mr. R.) had in his possession a copy of the second edition of his first pamphlet, printed in 1777, and the name of Granville Sharp was in the title-page.—(Hear.) These eminent men were connected in close friendship; and it was only Mr. Sharp's being absorbed in questions of a more confined yet humane character, which prevented his becoming one of the finest and most energetic politicians of his day.—(Applause.) No man was more free than the Major from personal ambition. He was the patriot, not of England, but of the world; he sought no liberty for his country but what was beneficial for mankind.—(Hear, hear.) His was far beyond the boasted liberty of Greece or Rome; indeed, liberty had no existence in those states. There was no people in Greece—they were all either privileged masters or wretched slaves.—(Great applause.) His friend was no visionary

character—he did not neglect domestic duty to promote any wide universal scheme of speculative liberty.'—(Applause.)

" Mr. Galloway said, ' that the opponents of Major Cartwright's political views had talked much of moderate reform, but had shown as yet nothing of practical result. The non-reformers are a powerful body; and the united energies of all friends to real reform are called for, to effect any thing like success. The Major may not have done much by effects, but he had left an example worthy of eternal admiration; and what brighter or better legacy can be bequeathed than a good and glorious example?'—(Hear, hear.)

" Francis Canning, Esq. of Warwickshire, bore testimony to the public and private virtues of their deceased friend.

" Mr. Sturch had known the late Major forty-three years ago, and enjoyed his acquaintance to his death. ' He was one of the society instituted for constitutional information, of which the other members were Dr. Jebb, Mr. Horne Tooke, Dr. Brocklesby, and Mr. (afterwards Sir Samuel) Romilly. Major Cartwright was one of that body, and a more firm, able, temperate, or consistent advocate of freedom never existed. His memory cannot die, for it will live in his immortal works.' —(Applause.)

" Dr. Gilchrist said, ' the Major had begun public life on the principle of being serviceable to the whole community. He had, all through his career, exhibited great talents and integrity. In his latter

years, the Major had communicated much with him, and testified, upon innumerable occasions, that his private benevolence was not inferior to his public principle. His noble and generous heart exhibited one powerful seat of feeling, shortly before his death, in his charitable treatment of the unfortunate refugees, whom he received into his house and sheltered.'

" Mr. Hobhouse said, 'he came to do honour to himself by advocating the proposition. He had been, on one occasion, opposed to Major Cartwright, but he had uniformly occasion to respect him; and latterly, he had the high gratification of receiving the unqualified approbation of the venerable man for the conduct he pursued.'

" Mr. Hill (the Barrister) spoke in favour of the proposition, and Mr. Wooler, as Secretary to the Committee, stated that the subscriptions amounted to £500 already.

" The Resolutions were then unanimously carried, and the meeting separated."

Several resolutions were passed, and the following gentlemen were appointed as a committee to carry them into effect.

Sir F. Burdett, M.P.	Alderman Wood, M.P.
J. C. Hobhouse, M.P.	Hon. Col. Leicester Stanhope.
P. Moore, Esq. M.P.	R. Sykes, Esq.
Col. Johnson, M.P.	R. Slade, Esq.
W. James, Esq. M.P.	Dr. Gilchrist.
Sir R. Wilson, M.P.	S. Peach, Esq.
D. Sykes, Esq. M.P.	Dr. Harrison.
C. F. Palmer, Esq. M.P.	G. Ensor, Esq.

T. Rawson, Esq.
G. Kinlock, Esq.
E. H. Baker, Esq.
General La Fayette.
Col. Kirk.
H. E. Strickland, Esq.
Captain Wood.
H. Woods, Esq.
A. Galloway, Esq.
R. Collet, Esq.
F. Canning, Esq.
J. W. Hodgetts, Esq.
S. Shore, Esq.
Rev. J. Fullagar.
C. Mankin, Esq.
— Gregory, Esq.
P. Walker, Esq.
C. Dickenson, Esq.
M. D. Hill, Esq.
C. Prynne, Esq.
T. L. Hodges, Esq.
W. Mason, Esq.
W. Hallett, Esq.
T. J. Clarke, Esq.
R. M. Beverley, Esq.
J. Henning, Esq.
— Rogers, Esq.

Though the subjoined list of Major Cartwright's works is given to the best of the writer's knowledge, it is probably far from being a complete one. No circumstance, likely in his judgment, to affect the interests or liberties of the public, ever escaped his watchful attention; and he was, therefore, continually sending short pieces to the press, many of which are now lost, and were probably, even by himself forgotten. Still less easy would it be to ascertain the addresses, petitions, and resolutions he was employed to draw up both for public and private use, for where he could conscientiously lend the assistance of his ready pen, it has been already stated, that assistance was never denied. To have passed a single day without devoting the greater part of it to writing, would have been in his laborious life, a very remarkable and almost unprecedented occurrence.

LIST OF MAJOR CARTWRIGHT'S WRITINGS.

On the Rights and Interests of Fishing Companies. 1772.
Letter to Edmund Burke. 1774.
American Independence. 1774.
Second Edition. 1775.
Legislative Rights of the Commonalty vindicated; or, Take Your Choice. 1776.
To the King.—Proposals for saving Great Britain, and recovering America. 1777.
Letter to Lord Abingdon. 1777.
The People's Barrier. 1780.
Address to the Committee of Associated Counties. 1780.
Letter to the Deputies. 1781.
Give us our Rights. 1782.
Internal Evidence; in Answer to Soame Jenyns, Esq. 1784.
Declaration of Rights. 1784.
A Nottinghamshire Farmer's advice to his Brother Freeholders. 1785.
Plain Truths to Plain Men. By a Holland Fen Farmer. 1791.
A Letter to the Duke of Newcastle: in the Appendix to which will be found the plan for supplying the Navy with oak timber. 1792.
A Letter to a Friend at Boston. 1793.
A Letter to the Duke of Richmond. 1793.
The Commonwealth in Danger. 1795.
Letter to the High Sheriff of Lincoln. 1795.
The Constitutional Defence of England. 1796.
A Speech intended to have been spoken at Lincoln. 1796.
Appeal, Civil and Military. 1799.
Letter to Wyvill. 1801.
The Trident. 1801.
A Review of the Proceedings upon the Petitions, complaining of an undue Election and return for the County of Nottingham, in a Letter to the Speaker. 1803.
The State of the Nation, in a series of Letters to the Duke of Bedford. 1805.

England's Ægis, in 2 vols. 1806.
Reasons for Reformation. 1809.
The Comparison between Mock Reform, Half Reform, and Constitutional Reform. 1810.
The Ghosts of Nelson, Pitt, and More. 1811.
Six Letters to the Marquis of Tavistock. 1812.
Twenty Letters to Wyvill. 1813, 1814.
To the Westminster Electors. 1814.
Letters to Clarkson. 1814.
A Full Report of the Proceedings of the Hampden Club, published by order of the Committee. 1816.
Universal Suffrage vindicated, in a Letter to the Rev. R. Fellowes. 1817.
Letters to the Lord Mayor. 1817.
A Bill of Rights and Liberties. 1817.
Letter to Sir F. Burdett, as Chairman of the Committee for the Sufferers, &c. 1818.
Seven Letters to the Duke of Bedford, from Tunbridge Wells. 1818.
Letter to the Electors of Westminster. 1819.
Ditto, April 6th. 1819.
A Bill of Free and Sure Defence. 1820.
Birmingham Complaint and Remonstrance. 1820.
Letter to Mr. Lambton. 1820.
Ditto. 1821.
Hints to the Greeks. 1821.
Letter to the Edinburgh Reviewers. 1822.
To Lord John Russel. 1822.
The Constitution Produced and Illustrated. 1823.
Abridgment of ditto. 1824.
Political Dialogue. 1824.

In Wyvill's Political Papers, Vol. I. p. 4.

Address to the Committee of the Associated Counties. 1780.
Letter to the Freeholders of Middlesex and Electors of London. 1780.
Letters to the Deputies of the Associated Counties. 1781.
Address to the unrepresented Inhabitants of Leeds, Sheffield, Birmingham, &c. 1782.

Dialogue between a Gentleman and a Cottager. 1783.
Declaration of the Middlesex Freeholders' Club. 1804.

In Cobbett's Register.

Letter to Mr. Cobbett, on a Standing Army. 21st March, 1806.
Letter to Ditto. 30th March, 1806.
To Holt White, Esq. 26th October, 1806.
To Sir F. Burdett, Bart. 29th October, 1806.
To S. Whitbread, Esq. November, 1806.
Observations on a Letter from Mr. O'Bryen. 17th November, 1806.
To W. Windham, Esq. 29th November, 1806.
To Ditto, on National Defence. 30th November, 1806.
To Ditto. 24th February, 1807.
To Ditto. 26th February, 1807.
To S. Whitbread, Esq. on the affairs of Spain. 15th July, 1808.
To Mr. Cobbett on National Defence. 6th September, 1808.
To the Author of the Impartial Examination of Sir F. Burdett's Plan of Reform. 31st August, 1809.
To Ditto. 17th December, 1809.

In the Black Dwarf.

Letter on the Westminster Elections. 15th July, 1818.
A Letter containing a Description of Proposed National Coins. May, 1823.
Letter to Lord Stanhope. 19th May, 1823.
Letters to Mr. Hume.

In the Statesman Newspaper.

Letter on Foreign Mercenaries. March, 1810.
Seven Letters to Sir F. Burdett, Bart. 1817.

In the Sunday Review.

Letter to Lord Selkirk. 9th July, 1809.
Letter to J. Martin, Esq. M.P. for Tewkesbury. 1821.

Major Cartwright occasionally took the name in different newspapers of Alfred, Fitzwilliam, God-

frey Fitzhugh, Philo-Selden, Peregrine Falcon, and Defensator. A very short time before his death, he wrote a letter for the newspapers with the last of those signatures. It was occasioned by his observing that one of his deceased brother's inventions had been claimed by another person; and it was curious to observe the correctness of his memory both as to the period of the invention, and its mechanical details, which seemed to be as fresh in his mind, as if they had been of recent occurrence.

The task which by the writer's peculiar situation devolved upon her, is now fulfilled; and the work, with all its imperfections, must be submitted to the public. Many will doubtless think it too prolix, and may consider some of its details uninteresting; while, on the other hand, some will find it deficient and inadequate to the object in view; but all are requested to bear in mind, that it was first begun beneath the pressure of recent affliction, and was afterwards continued at intervals, amidst the disadvantages and interruptions of frequent and severe indisposition.

APPENDIX.

APPENDIX.

No. I.

Vol. I., page 31.

TO HIS EXCELLENCY SIR HUGH PALLISER, ETC.

SIR, Harbour Grace, October 12, 1767.

HEREWITH I have the honour to transmit your Excellency the copies of my proceedings in the surrogacy at Trinity; together with the trial between the inhabitants of that harbour and Mr. Greatrakes in the Vice-Admiralty court. As he was in the character of a merchant, at a distant harbour, and the season of the year critical, beside that he was not the actual offender, but only the bondsman; I was cautious to avoid every step that might carry an arbitrary appearance, or put it in a lawyer's power to pick out any irregularities in my proceedings; of which I concluded he would avail himself in England, should the penalty be levied upon him. Therefore I still deferred to arrest him, after receiving a second information upon oath, until I had sent for the inhabitants, who, as the party injured, were properly the persons to prosecute. I was obliged for a considerable time to disguise the real intention of assembling them, and by much circumlocution to extort as it were such declarations of their sentiments as answered my purpose, and from which they could not retract, before I could venture to open the whole matter; and even then found that it was necessary to suppress Greatrakes's name, and to word the complaint as a general thing, which I had done ready for the occasion. However, at last all present signed the memorial, and promised to send me such men from their re-

spective rooms, as might be able to give evidence against any offender. This done, I despatched Mr. Richardson to Bonavista, where he arrested Greatrakes; and at the same time I published the enclosed proclamation at Trinity. Your Excellency will see what passed on the trial, and I shall be happy if the conducting of it shall escape any other censure than what may be due to inexperience and ignorance of law, which it must be liable to. The principal people have also promised me to exert themselves to the utmost in clearing the country. An instance of the empty professions and spiritless behaviour of the prosecutors, will appear in its true light when your Excellency is informed that the list of destitute persons, to which is annexed the certificate, was not put into my hands till I was on the point of sailing, and then without any other than its own evidence, though it was in the possession of Mr. Street, agent to the elder White, of Pool, who was a principal sufferer, and one of the most earnest complainants. From this list, and what information I have since the trial gathered by scraps, I have no doubt but an early prosecution in the season might have subjected perhaps more than Greatrakes to the penalty; but late as it was, and favourable in its issue, yet, Sir, it has evidently produced the good effects you proposed by it; for I found very ready compliance as to passages, and having taken a fresh bond which is herewith also enclosed, am convinced that no one will risk a second prosecution, as they see your Excellency determined not to overlook such misdemeanors. I arrived here on Friday night, and this morning opened the court, where I expect much trouble, as I am informed that in many cases where the boat-keepers are already in debt, some of the merchants are resolved to pay no wages at all to their servants; in all which cases I shall govern myself by what appears to be your Excellency's true meaning in your late regulations, and enforce my own decrees thereon, without regarding either remonstrances or non-compliance.

I am, Sir, &c.

No. II.

Vol. I., page 34.

REMARKS on the Situation of the ABORIGINES of Newfoundland, with some Account of their Manner of Living: together with such Descriptions as are necessary to the Explanation of the Sketch of the Country they inhabit; taken on the Spot in the Year 1768, and presented to Governor Sir Hugh Palliser, by Lieutenant JOHN CARTWRIGHT, R.N.

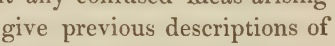
> "Lo, the poor Indian! whose untutor'd mind,
> Sees God in clouds, or hears him in the wind."

THE journey in which the river Exploits was traced, and Lieutenants' Lake discovered, was undertaken with a design to explore the unknown interior parts of Newfoundland; to examine into the practicability of travelling from shore to shore, across the body of that island; and to acquire a more certain knowledge of the settlements of the natives or Red Indians, as well as to surprise if possible one or more of those savages, for the purpose of effecting in time a friendly intercourse with them, in order to promote their civilization, and render them in the end useful subjects to his Majesty.

The epithet of "red" is given to these Indians, from their universal practice of colouring their garments, their canoes, bows, arrows, and every other utensil belonging to them, with red ochre.

The situation of this tribe as a part of the human species, with certain particulars relating to them, is truly singular. Although they are the original native inhabitants of a country we have so long possessed, they have not now the least intercourse with us whatever; except indeed, sometimes, the unfriendly one of reciprocal injuries and murders. There are traditions amongst the English inhabitants of Newfound-

land, which prove that an amicable intercourse once subsisted between them and the natives; and at the same time afford sufficient evidence, that the conduct of the savages was not the cause that these social bands were first broken. In the course of these remarks, will be shewn more at large the reason for the continuance of this disunion; whence it will perhaps appear, that there is no other method to restore the intercourse between us, than that which was adopted by Governor Palliser, and attempted on the expedition that gave rise to these observations.

But before I mention any thing that bears a reference to the sketch, or speak of the Indian manner of living, it may be necessary, in order to prevent any confused ideas arising in the mind of the reader, to give previous descriptions of the whigwham or hut, distinguished on the sketch with red ink by the mark ○; of the square dwellings marked □; of the deer fences and sewels marked  and ⊢; of the canoe; and lastly, of the bow and arrow, in which are at once comprised the whole of their arms, either offensive or defensive.

The whigwham is a hut in the form of a cone. The base of it is proportioned to the number of the family, and their beds form a circle around the fire that burns in the centre. The beds are only so many oblong hollows in the earth, lined with the tender branches of fir and pine. Several straight sticks like hop-poles compose the frame of the whigwham, and the covering is supplied by the rind of the birch-tree. This is overlaid sheet upon sheet, in the manner of tiles, and perfectly shelters the whole apartment except the fire-place, over which there is left an opening to carry off the smoke. The birch rind is secured in its place by outside poles, whose weight from their inclined position is sufficient for that purpose. The central fire spreading its heat on all sides makes them quite warm; and notwithstanding one of these habitations, where materials are plentiful, may be completed in less than an hour, yet they last a long time; for

being always in the woods, they are defended from the force of the wind, that would otherwise very soon overturn such slender fabrics.

Of the square habitations, very few were observed on the whole journey; one upon Sabbath Point in Lieutenants' Lake, and another at a small distance above Little Rattle. They were much alike; and examining the latter we found it to be a rectangle framed nearly in the fashion of the English fishing houses, only that the studs were something apart, from which it was evident that they alone could not, in that state, form the shell, as in the English buildings, where they are closely joined together. But about eighteen inches within this, and parallel to it, there was another frame of slighter workmanship rising to the roof. From the hair which adhered to the studs, the interval appeared to have been filled with deer skins, than which there could have been nothing better calculated for keeping out the cold. This was the construction of only three sides, the fourth being raised by trees well squared and placed horizontally one upon another, having their seams caulked with moss. The difference was probably owing to a deficiency of skins; and the rather so, as this inferior side of the dwelling bore a south-east aspect, which required less shelter than any other. The lodgments of the rafters on the beams, and the necessary joints, were as neatly executed as in the houses commonly inhabited by our fishers. The roof was a low pyramid, being encompassed at the distance of three feet from its vertex, by a hoop tied to the rafters with thongs. Here the covering had terminated, and the space above the hoop had been left open as in the whigwham, for a passage to the smoke, the fire-place, according to custom, having been in the centre.

The deer fences we found erected on the banks of the Exploits, are situated in places the most proper for intercepting herds of those animals, as they cross the river in their route to the southward, on the approach of winter, and again at the return of mild weather when they wander back

again. They have the best effect where there is a beach of about twenty feet wide, and from that a steep ascending bank. Along the ridge of this bank the Indians fell the trees without chopping the trunks quite asunder, taking care that they fall parallel with the river, and guiding every fresh cut tree so as to coincide with and fall upon the last. The weak parts of the fence are filled up and strengthened with branches and limbs of other trees, secured occasionally by large stakes and bindings; in short, these fences and our plashed hedges are formed on the same principles, differing only in their magnitude. They are raised to the height of six, eight or ten feet, as the place may require, so that, the steepness of the bank considered, they are not to be forced or over-leaped by the largest deer. Those fences near Slaughter and Fatal Isles, and the other most frequented places, are from half a mile to half a league in length; only discontinued here and there for short distances, where the ill growth of the wood does not favour such works. The Indians are here at no loss; for their knowledge of the use of sewels supplies the deficiency, and completes their toils. At certain convenient stations they have small breast works half the height of a man (by the furriers called gazes), over which it may be presumed they shoot the deer passing between the waterside and the bank, deterred by the sewels and disabled by means of the fence from entering the wood until an opening clear of these obstructions may present itself.

Their sewels* are made by tying a tassel of birch rind, formed like the wing of a paper kite, to the small end of a slight stick, about six feet in length. These sticks are pricked into the ground about ten or a dozen yards apart, and so much sloping, that the pendant rind may hang clear of its support in order to play with every breath of wind. Thus it

* "Hos non immissis canibus, non cassibus ullis; Puniceæ agitant pavidos formidine pennæ." Virgil. Dryden has neglected the peculiar beauty of this passage, by using only the general word toils, which gives no idea of a sewel formed with coloured feathers.

is sure to catch the eye of the deer, and to make them shun the place where it stands.

The canoe peculiar to these Indians comes next to be considered, and so well deserves particular notice, that no pains will be spared to gratify the curiosity of the inquisitive reader; and it is hoped, that by the assistance of the perspective view exhibited in the sketch of the country, the reader will be fully satisfied on this head. See Chart, Vol. I. p. 33. There also he will see a representation of the whigwham, as well as of the arrows of this people. The principle on which the Red Indian's canoe is constructed, is perhaps nowhere else to be met with, the sides beginning at the very keel, and from thence running up in a straight line to the edge or gunwale. A transverse section of it, at any part whatever, makes an acute angle; only that it is not sharpened to a perfect angular point, but is somewhat rounded to take in the slight rod that serves by way of keel. This rod is thickest in the middle, (being in that part about the size of the handle of a common hatchet,) tapering each way, and terminating with the slender curved extremities of the canoe. The form of this keel will then, it is evident, be the same with the outline of the long section, which, when represented on paper, is nearly, if not exactly, the half of an ellipse longitudinally divided*. The coat or shell of the canoe is made of the largest and fairest sheets of birch rind that can be procured. Its form being nothing more than two sides joined together where the keel is to be introduced, it is very easily sewed together entire. The sewing is perfectly neat, and performed with spruce roots, split to the proper size. That along the gunwale is like our neatest basket work. The seams are payed over with a sort of gum, ap-

* In the representation of the canoe which accompanies the chart, the artist has not given the form so correctly as could be wished. In Major Cartwright's drawing, the extremities are more curved, and consequently the ellipse, if continued, would be more perfect. The figure of the Indian in the distance, behind the canoe, is also extremely disproportioned, being more than twice as large as that in Major Cartwright's drawing.

pearing to be a preparation of turpentine, oil, and ochre, and which effectually resists all the efforts of the water. The sides are kept apart, and their proper distance preserved by means of a thwart of about two fingers' substance, whose ends are lodged on the rising points abovementioned, in the middle of the gunwale. The gunwales are made with tapering sticks, two on each side; the thick ends of which meet on the rising points with the ends of the main thwart, and being moulded to the shape of the canoe, their small ends terminate with those of the keel rod, in the extremities of each stem. On the outside of the proper gunwales, with which they exactly correspond, and connected with them by a few thongs, are also false gunwales, fixed there for the same purpose as we use fenders. The inside is lined entirely with sticks two or three inches broad, cut flat and thin, and placed lengthways, over which again others are crossed. A short thwart near each end to preserve the canoe from twisting, or being bulged, makes it complete. It may readily be conceived, from its form and light fabric, that being put into the water, it would lie flat on one side, with the keel and gunwale both at the surface. But being ballasted with stones, it settles to a proper depth in the water, and then swims upright; when a covering of sods and moss being laid on the stones, the Indians kneel on them, and manage the canoe with paddles. In fine weather they sometimes set a sail on a very slight mast, fastened to the middle thwart; but this is a practice for which these delicate and unsteady barks are by no means calculated. A canoe of fourteen feet long is about four feet wide in the middle.

The bows are all of sycamore, which being very scarce in this country, and the only wood it produces that is fit for this use, it thence becomes valuable. The sticks are not selected with any great nicety, some of them being knotty, and of a very rude appearance; but under this simple rustic guise they carry very great perfection; and to those who examine them with due attention, admirable skill is shewn in their construction. Except in the grasp, the inside of them

is cut flat, but so obliquely and with so much art, that the string will vibrate in a direction coinciding exactly with the thicker edge of the bow. This seems to be essential to the true delivery of the arrow, but is a principle that appears not to be generally understood amongst archers. The bow is full five feet and a half long.

The arrow is made of well-seasoned pine, slender, light, and perfectly straight. Its head is a two-edged lance, about six inches long, and the stock is about three feet more. Like the famous arrow that pierced the heart of Douglas, it is feathered with the " gray goose wing."

The country which the Red Indians now inhabit, is chiefly about the river Exploits, extending northerly as far as Cape John, and to Cape Frehel in the south-east. They were formerly known to spread themselves much farther, but it is thought they were then considerably more numerous than they are at present. In the winter it seems they reside chiefly on the banks of the Exploits, where they are enabled to procure a plentiful subsistence, as appeared by the abundance of horns and bones that lay scattered about their whigwhams at the deer-fences. Rangers' River, Prospect Lake, the Forbidden Ponds, and other places, may admit, no doubt, of a like residence, and afford them the same kind of food, though not in such plenty; for the channel of the Exploits, stretching itself directly across the regular and constant track of the deer, must necessarily ensure to them abundance of venison, while all the other places may yield them no more than occasional supplies. In summer they live altogether, as it is supposed, on the sea-coast. Between the boundaries I have mentioned, of Cape John and Cape Frehel, is spread a vast multitude of islands abounding with sea-fowl, ptarmigan, hares and other game, besides seals in great numbers. On the largest of these isles are deer, foxes, bears and otters. Besides hunting all these, they used formerly to kill considerable quantities of salmon in the rivers and small streams; but the English have now only left them

in possession of Charles's and another brook. During the egg season they are supposed to feed luxuriously, and by no means to want food after the young have taken wing; for in archery they have an unerring hand that amply supplies their wants. A kind of cake made with eggs, and baked in the sun, and a sort of pudding stuffed in a gut, and composed of seals' fat, livers, eggs and other ingredients, have been found about their whigwhams. These puddings, it is thought, are preserved by them as a provision against times of scarcity, and when the chase may happen to fail.

The Red Indians, as I have observed before, have no intercourse with Europeans, except an hostile one, which, there is great reason to think, is founded, on their part, upon a just, and, to an uncivilized people, a noble resentment of wrongs. On the part of the English fishers, it is an inhumanity that sinks them far below the level of savages. The wantonness of their cruelties towards these poor wretches has frequently been almost incredible. One well-known fact shall serve as a specimen. A small family of Indians being surprised in their whigwham by a party of fishermen, they all fled, to avoid, if possible, the instant death that threatened them from the fire-arms of their enemies; when one woman being unable to make her escape, yielded herself into their power. Seeing before her none but men, she might naturally have hoped that her sex alone would have disarmed their cruelty; but to awaken in them still stronger motives to compassion, she pointed, with an air of the most moving entreaty, to her prominent belly. Could all nature have produced another pleader of such eloquence as the infant there concealed? But this appeal, Oh, shame to humanity! was in vain; for an instant stab, that ript open her womb, laid her at the feet of these cowardly ruffians, where she expired in great agonies. Their brutal fury died not with its unhappy victim; for with impious hands they mutilated the dead body, so as to become a spectacle of the greatest horror. And that no aggravation of their crime might be wanting, they made, at

their return home, their boasts of this exploit. Charity might even have prevailed in their favour, against their own report, and have construed the relation into an idle pretence only of wickedness, which, however, they were incapable of having in reality committed, had they not produced the hands of the murdered woman, which they displayed on the occasion, as a trophy.

Although I meant to confine myself to a single proof of my charge against the fishermen, yet, as that is general, and of so criminal a nature, it may not be amiss to bring more evidence against them, in order to satisfy the reader that their guilt has not been exaggerated. The following story will but too much confirm what has been already advanced. Some fishermen, as they doubled, in their boat, a point of land, discovering a single defenceless woman with an infant on her shoulders, one of them instantly discharged at her a heavy load of swan-shot, and lodged it in her loins. Unable now to sustain her burthen, she unwillingly put it down, and with difficulty crawled into the woods, holding her hand upon the mortal wound she had received, and without once taking off her eyes from the helpless object she had left behind her. In this dreadful situation, she beheld her child ravished from her by her murderers, who carried it to their boat. How the infant's cries, as they bore it off, must have pierced her fainting heart! How the terrors of its approaching fate must have wrung a mother's breast! The arrows of death were dipped in the keenest of all poisons. Cowardly as they were cruel, the crew snatched away the child in the utmost hurry and affright, and made a precipitate retreat, for just before they discovered the woman they had seen on an eminence at a considerable distance, two Indian men. Sentiments of horror and indignation will move no doubt the generous reader, when he casts his eye upon these shocking scenes; but what feeling, what mode of disgust has nature implanted in the human heart, to express its abhorrence of the wretch who can be so hardened to vice as to conceive

that he is entitled to a reward for the commission of such bloody deeds! One of the very villains concerned in the capture of the child, supposing it a circumstance that would be acceptable to the Governor, actually came to the writer of these remarks at Toulinguet, to ask a gratuity for the share he had borne in the transaction. Had he been describing the death of a beast of chase and the taking of its young, he could not have shewn greater insensibility than he did at the relation above mentioned: but it was not to be heard without far other feelings, and in point of facts is here literally repeated. The woman was shot in August, 1768, and to complete the mockery of human misery, her child* was, the winter following, exposed as a curiosity to the rabble at Pool, for twopence a piece.

The fishermen take a brutal pleasure in boasting of these barbarities, and he who has shot an Indian values himself more upon the feat than if he had overcome a bear or a wolf.

These Indians are not only secluded thus from any communication with Europeans, but they are as effectually cut off from the society of every other Indian people. The Canadians have generally a pretty strong hunt that range the western coast of Newfoundland, between whom and these natives reigns so mortal an enmity (as in the subsequent letter is more fully mentioned) that they never meet but a bloody combat ensues †.

This is the only tribe from the continent that can now approach them; for the English settlements on the east coast keep back the Esquimeaux, who are said formerly to have ranged far enough to the southward, to have fallen in with Red Indian canoes, and it is understood that they then treated all they met as enemies. The Esquimeaux in harassing them kept to their own element, the water; where their

* The Indian mentioned by Captain Cartwright in his Journal, 15th June, 1785, was the child here described.—Vol. III. p. 49.

† That is the case with all savage nations; occasioned by mutual fears, and not being able to understand each other's language.

superior canoes and missile weapons provided for killing whales, made them terrible enemies to encounter: but in getting rid of these, they have still changed for the worse, meeting with foes more powerful and, to their experience, no less savage, who distress them every where alike; so that neither sea nor land can now afford them safety. To complete their wretched condition Providence has even denied them the pleasing services and companionship of the faithful dog. This affectionate and social creature is partner in the joyous chase, fellow traveller, protector, and domestic attendant to every race of mankind that history has brought to my knowledge, except to these most forlorn of all human beings. May we not look upon this as one of the heaviest evils they endure? For the Indian that in his dealings with his fellow creatures will but too frequently experience fraud and treachery, finds in his honest dog a friend that never will forsake or betray him, and one that is not incapable of sympathizing in his misfortunes and in his welfare.

Their coming down in the spring to the sea coast and the islands I have spoken of, may very properly be termed taking the field or opening the campaign, for there they are obliged to observe all the vigilance of war. So inconsiderable are they in point of numbers, and subject to such an extreme dread of fire-arms, that they are ever on the defensive. Besides, the necessity of their separating into single families and small parties, in order to obtain that subsistence which no one place would furnish to numerous bodies, renders them in general an easy conquest to a single boat's crew. There is no cod fishery, and consequently there are no inhabitants within the very exterior verge of these islands; but they are often visited by boats that carry the salmon fishers, shipbuilders, sawyers, woodmen and furriers, into the respective bays and rivers situated within them; as well as by such as run from isle to isle in quest of game. The Indians from their secret haunts in the woods, let not a motion of all these people escape them; and in order to be on their

guard, are careful to post themselves where they can command a view of all approaches, and secure an easy retreat. Their whigwhams are frequently erected on a narrow isthmus, so that their canoes may be launched into the water on the safe side, whenever an enemy's boat appears. Both day and night they keep an unremitting and wary look out; so that to surprise them requires in general uncommon address and subtlety. Even to gain a sight of them is no small difficulty; for they enjoy in so much perfection the senses of sight and hearing, that they seldom fail to discover the advances of the fishermen early enough to make their retreat, without so much as being perceived. This is known to every one who has traversed those islands, as the traces of Indians are found by such persons wherever they land, and sometimes such fresh signs of them, as are a proof they have not quitted the spot many minutes; and though these appearances are observable every day, yet whole seasons sometimes pass without an Indian having been seen.

A Red Indian in the summer time may be compared to a beast of chase, such as the wolf or fox, that preys on other game, and in his turn is liable to fall himself a prey to hunters more destructive. He is like them endowed with a peculiar sagacity in finding, watching and tracing his game, as well as with strength and activity for the pursuit: and he subsists by the sole excercise of those powers. Like them he is a wanderer, roaming from place to place as the revolving seasons vary his food, and point out each successive haunt of woods or rocky shores, mountains or valleys, ponds or plains in which it must be sought; and lastly, he has to expect from the fishermen exactly the same treatment as the brute creatures he is compared with, and it behoves him to seek his safety in the friendly covert of the forest and in vigilance equal to theirs.

From this view of the unsettled restless life of the Red Indians during the campaign, which breaks not up until the expiration of the summer season, it appears that their perpe-

tual apprehensions of danger must entirely deprive them of that repose and security which is essential to the enjoyment of life.

But let us accompany them into their winter quarters, where it is probable that, like the Indian tribes on the neighbouring continent, a general festivity reigns among them. They are now free from alarm; and if any particular rites in their religious worship require time in the performance, this, and not the summer, is evidently the season for celebrating them.

From the undoubted original connexion between these islanders and the tribes just mentioned, it is to be supposed that, like them, they hold assemblies for deliberating on peace and war, and for promoting an early union of the sexes in nuptial bonds, as the grand support of the community. On these occasions, the continental Indians pass their time in singing, dancing, and feasting, and in recounting perilous adventures in war, and in the chase. But we may conclude that the happy meeting of our Indians in the interior of Newfoundland cannot be of long duration, for want of provisions to supply the feast. It must be soon necessary for them to form themselves into distinct parties, for occupying the posts at which they kill the travelling deer for their subsistence during the winter.

Between Flat Rattle and Rangers' River, the banks of the Exploits bear marks of being well inhabited, when the Indians resort thither from the sea-coast. Beyond Rangers' River, as my letter to Governor Palliser mentions, the whigwhams are thinly scattered. Some persons are of opinion that the number of these Indians amounts to three hundred, others suppose them not to exceed two hundred souls; and no doubt their reasons for keeping within such narrow bounds, have considerable weight; but the numerous habitations we met with, as we travelled towards Lieutenants' Lake, incline me to add to the greater of these numbers one or two hundred souls more.

When the Indians assemble at their respective stations, their habitations are soon put in order, their deer-fences repaired, the necessary sewelling completed, and every preparation made for the ensuing slaughter. In the beginning of winter, the deer of this country all resort to the southward, where the climate is more mild, and the snow not so deep as in the northern parts; so that those who have spent the summer to the northward of the Exploits, have necessarily this river (running from west to east) to cross in their route. The country hereabout being one universal forest, it would be impracticable to find or kill many of them in such an unbounded covert. The wide opening made by this river, being, as it were, a lane through these extensive woods, renders it the most commodious situation for that purpose.

The first fall of snow is sure to put the deer in motion; and when the earth is covered to a certain depth, the Indians know that their harvest is at hand. The deer, to defend themselves from the packs of wolves that for ever infest them on the road, seek, as it were, protection from each other, and gather together in vast herds, as birds of passage collect in flocks to make their journey. If the snow continues with the usual frost, they travel at an easy rate both night and day, without quitting the paths trodden by their leaders, and without any other food than what they crop and browse from the overhanging branches, as they pass along. In this case their journey is not of long continuance, and the killing season of the Indians must be soon over. But when the frost fails, and a thaw dissolves the snow, the deer no longer pursue their march with the same regularity, but spread themselves on the spot to feed, until fresh snow and a new frost give the signal for re-assembling. These interruptions frequently happen, and must then always retard the operations of the Indians more or less. With plenty and happiness smiling upon them on one hand, and on the other hunger and misery staring them in the face, there can be no doubt but that they employ all their ingenuity in framing

their toils, and that their utmost watchfulness, skill and activity are exerted in attending them. We must remember that this extraordinary fatigue always happens in the worst weather; for it is the falling of the snow that urges the deer to move, and at this change of the seasons the weather is particularly tempestuous. So long as their wants continue, they must be strangers to sleep or repose; and even night can yield them no respite from watching and labour. To dispose of the weighty carcases, as the deer are slain, must be a fatiguing part of their work; and care is to be taken to have them kept free from taint until the frost seizes them. They are then in perfect security the whole winter, except an unexpected thaw should happen; for so long as the frost holds, there is no want of salt.

It may be presumed that their first meeting in winter-quarters, affords every delight and social enjoyment, that so hardfaring, rude, and uncultivated a people are capable of. Refinements in sentiment are not to be found among them, and they can be little acquainted with the rational pleasure of reflection; but whensoever mankind possess plenty, and are content with it, they must be happy; and that this measure of bliss must sometimes fall to their lot, cannot well be doubted. If they know not the arts that embellish life, and those sciences that dignify humanity, they are ignorant also of the long train of vices that corrupt the manners of civilized nations, and of the enormous crimes that debase mankind.

I cannot obtain the least insight into the religion of the Red Indians; and have thought it very remarkable, that in a journey of about seventy miles, through the heart of their winter-country, not a single object should present itself, that might be looked upon as intended for religious purposes, or denoted any superstitious practices of those people; except indeed some small figured bones, neatly carved, and having four prongs, the two middle ones being parallel, and almost close together, while the outer ones spread like a swallow's tail. Some of these have fallen in my way, and from the

thong fixed to their handle, I have imagined them to be worn as amulets; and I conjecture that the religion of this people rises but little above such harmless, trifling observances.

The summer, in this part of the world, is tolerably long and pleasant, the autumn short and rough; when a hasty winter, armed with stormy north-west winds, snow, sleet and frost, makes his furious onset, giving no quarter until he has bound the whole country in his icy chains, and overwhelmed it with a load of snow. But having once subdued all nature to his obedience, he then deigns to smile. A serene sky, a bright sun, and gentle breeze, shew the mildness of his established reign.

On a supposition that our Indians might fall short in venison, it may not be improper to shew what other resources they have to help them out. Along all the shores, either of salt or fresh water, that we are acquainted with, which are well sheltered with wood, there is in winter, the greatest abundance of ptarmigan, which is a species of grouse, though they are erroneously called partridges. These birds do not seek the warm woody vales until the snow and wintry blasts drive them off the open barrens where they are bred. They become in cold weather so tame as to appear deficient in the principle of self-preservation; so that they are killed at pleasure, and may be almost reckoned as a kind of domestic poultry to the Indians.

The marten or sable, next to be considered, is a creature with which this country abounds, and is of all others the most easily entrapped by the furrier. This animal follows every track made by men in the woods, and allured by the smell of provisions, haunts their dwellings. This pilfering inclination is easily turned to the destruction of the animal, and is fortunate for the furrier.

The beaver is not wanting in these parts, and makes no mean addition to their store of provisions. The most luxurious epicure may envy them this dainty. The flesh has an exquisite flavour, peculiar to itself, which, together with a

certain crispness in the fat, is so grateful to the taste that it is preferred to the finest venison. No broth excels that which is made of the fore quarters, that are quite lean. The hind quarters, unseparated, are commonly roasted, being richly clothed with fat, of which the tail entirely consists. A dish of tails to eat as marrow is esteemed a great delicacy. The meat is remarkably easy of digestion, and its admirers say it may vie with even turtle itself as a delicious, nutritive and wholesome diet. It is only in winter that beaver is in season, when a large one, as some report, will weigh sixty or seventy pounds. The much admired political, mechanical, provident and social operations of this animal, have exercised many ingenious pens, which may deservedly be styled ingenious, as it is the property of ingenuity to invent. How could a traveller resist the temptation of applying the flat scaly tail, so admirably contrived for the purpose, as a trowel for spreading mortar, in the erection of their dams and houses? Nor must it be disputed, but that it may be equally serviceable as a sledge whereon to draw the materials. But I am well informed the sagacious beaver himself is still ignorant that this singular tail was given him for either of those ends. Their sage maxims of government, their punishment of offenders and expulsion of slothful members from the community, have been all gravely related by authors, who have gained no small credit for these curious discoveries, the result of their deep researches into nature; and these writers, in transgressing the dictates of truth, have not however entirely lost sight of them; for the beaver will be readily admitted to be an equal favorite of Providence, and to be governed by as intelligent an instinct as the bee or ant, whose economy is so wonderful.

We may add to the animals above mentioned, the bear, the wolf, the fox, hare and otter, besides two or three birds of prey, all of which are to be found in this wild forest, and may afford the Indians a casual meal now and then.

The white or water bear is not to be reckoned amongst

the creatures that contribute to the sustenance of the Red Indians. Although this animal is found in Newfoundland in the winter and early in the spring, he is only a stranger from the northern continent. Stimulated at this season by hunger, he will quit the shores and venture many leagues amongst the floating ice, in quest of seals; and he preys indifferently by sea or land. He is of enormous size and strength, and no less fierce and voracious. The houses of the fishermen are sometimes broken open by him, and sometimes he will pursue a boat at sea, his attacks being always without craft or hesitation, for he is a stranger to fear. But as he seldom or never goes any distance from the sea-coast inland, I do not imagine that the Indians ever see him about their winter settlements.

Postscript, November, 1769.

Having endeavoured to convey to the reader, in the above remarks written in February, 1768, the clearest idea in my power of the situation of the Red Indians in Newfoundland, and not doubting but he compassionates their unhappy life, while upon the sea-coast, it is with much satisfaction that I can now communicate to him the pleasure I felt on finding that the present governor *, immediately on his arrival in the country last July, issued a proclamation, signifying that it was his Majesty's will and pleasure he should express his abhorrence of such barbarities, as it had been represented to him, his subjects frequently exercised to the native savages, and that they were required to live in amity and brotherly kindness with them; commanding the magistrates at the same time, to use their utmost diligence in apprehending all persons who might hereafter be guilty of murdering any of the said native Indians, that they might be tried for such capital crime by the laws of England.

His Excellency has likewise adopted the plan of his predecessor, for the future civilization of this people, which,

* The Hon. John Byron, who succeeded Sir Hugh Pallisser as governor of Newfoundland in July, 1769.

though his first attempt has failed, yet as it happened by mere ill fortune, against a most flattering prospect at one particular juncture, it is to be hoped, may finally be crowned with success.

No. III.

Vol. I., page 56.

Downing-street, April 6, 1775.

SIR,

I took the first opportunity after seeing you, to get possession of your plan for raising a perpetual supply of timber for our dock-yards; and after a very careful perusal, obtained Lord North's permission to communicate it to Mr. Stephens of the Admiralty, where I am sure it will meet with every attention that it may deserve. My very limited knowledge of the subject leaves me an incompetent judge of it; but I am clear that you have at least shewn industry, ingenuity, and information, and shall be glad if the same favourable idea should be formed by those whose good opinion is of consequence to you in your profession. The attempt is creditable, though the execution of it may be found impracticable.

I am, Sir, your most obedient humble Servant,

WILLIAM EDEN.

MR. CARTWRIGHT.

No. IV.

Vol. I., page 71.

Extracts from the Standing Orders drawn up by Major Cartwright, for the Use of the Nottinghamshire Militia.

At every proper and convenient opportunity, an officer should give due praise to those that keep themselves clean,

and are careful to make a soldier-like appearance, and to do their duty with cheerfulness; using his best endeavours to inspire them with that pride in doing well, which makes the soldier's duty a pleasure, as well as with that no less desirable pride in their corps, which interests every soldier in the credit and honour of his regiment. These effects are only to be brought about by an exact discipline, regulated by justice, and tempered with humanity, respect, and politeness, so that the gentleman and the peasant, the colonel and the private sentinel, may truly be brother soldiers. Love and respect, mixed with awe, are the sentiments in the minds of the soldiers towards their officers, that unite their interests and their wishes; and, without this union, no regimental pride can take place, no regimental reputation be acquired. When moved to displeasure, an officer is particularly to avoid all oaths, or ungentleman-like, or insulting expressions to those who misbehave; but to reprimand them in such terms, as shew he feels for the disgrace they bring upon themselves, and is concerned that they oblige him to resort to the harsh powers of his superior station; and so, in short, as to excite shame and sorrow, but not anger, in the breasts of the offenders; by which means he will preserve the dignity of the officer, and his severities will produce their due effect; and finally, he is both by example and authority to quicken the men's attention to every word of command, and to inculcate above all things, the great duty of steadiness.

Either upon the parade or in the field, an officer will more effectually recall the attention and steadiness of a forgetful soldier, by a quick and reprimanding eye, or a silent token of observation, than by vociferation or abuse; for the latter disgust and provoke more than they awe; besides that they are in themselves breaches of good discipline, and very disrespectful to the commanding-officer, and indeed to every officer present: while on the contrary, the former is an instructive example to the irregular soldiers of that silent attention and anxious care for the preservation of order,

which ought strictly to be observed by every officer and soldier, to the last moment that they are upon the parade or under arms; when nothing ought to be seen but perfect uniformity, accompanied by immoveable steadiness, or quick, exact, and graceful movements; and nothing heard but the proper sound of those movements, besides the strokes of the drum, the notes of the music, and the voice of the commanding-officer.

Upon all duties of command, or of trust and confidence, such as detachments, guards, superintendance of drills, visiting of hospitals, of quarters, &c. wherein officers are not immediately under the eye of a superior, it should be a most sacred point of honour with them, not to omit the smallest tittle of any such duties, nor to do them in a careless or unmilitary manner; for, though their neglects may not come to the knowledge of the commanding-officers, yet they cannot be unknown to the soldiers, which is far worse; and, even upon duties the most trifling, they ought always to pique themselves upon setting examples to the soldiers of obedience, punctuality, and unremitting attention. No men upon earth will fail to make good soldiers under such officers; and such examples, far more than the care or labours of the training officers, will form a regiment to order and discipline, and ensure its answering the wishes of our country in the day of battle.

These, no doubt, are motives sufficiently strong; but to men of principle and of feeling, there is perhaps, a motive still more urgent with them, to let their own conduct on all occasions be proper examples to their men: the private soldier never sits in judgment upon his officer, but the officer frequently judges, and condemns, and punishes, the soldier; and the courts-martial in which he officiates are, in a free country, judicatures of a harsh nature. How can a bacchanalian officer pass sentence upon a drunken soldier? How can the inattentive punish the negligent? or the disorderly consign to the halbert the disobedient, without being guilty

of the grossest insolence, the insolence of office; without filling the minds of the sufferers with all the indignation and hatred which tyranny ever inspires, and without subverting the best part of the foundation of discipline. To govern, through the medium of fear alone, is mean and hateful; as far as it may be necessary, it is always to be lamented, and too much pains cannot be used to substitute, in its room, the nobler principle of emulation.

[The introduction to what relates to the private soldier runs thus:]

A ballotted militia soldier, in a free nation, is one who by a wise and equitable law, is under an obligation to act as a military representative of his parish, and to bear arms for defence of his country. By serving faithfully in that capacity for three years, he may then remain peaceably at home the rest of his life, under the protection of those whose lot it shall then be to appear in the same honourable character.

A militia substitute is he, who, by his own voluntary act, takes upon himself to bear arms as the military representative of some one parish; and, by always remembering the honourable nature of the character he assumes, he ought to pride himself in supporting it like a man and a soldier.

The great end of arming a militia is to defend the nation against foreign attacks, without exposing it, at the same time, to that danger to liberty, which is justly to be apprehended from all other military establishments; a militia-man is, therefore, the most honourable of all soldiers.

A soldier should be vigorous and brave, and particularly proud of his personal cleanliness and military appearance; he should be temperate, regular, frugal, and provident; he should be skilful and ready in all parts of his exercise and manœuvres; strict in the performance of every duty and every movement, whether observed by his officer or not; and shew the same cheerful obedience to his corporal as to his colonel. When posted as a sentinel he should be vigilant, careful and determined; his life should be less valued than

the defence of his colours, or the preservation of his honour; and as the grand secret and ornament of a soldier in the field, he should distinguish himself by constant attention and an immoveable steadiness. To such a soldier, every worthy officer will be a friend and a father.

What a good soldier should be, has been already laid down; but let it be remembered, that for making a good soldier, the best foundation is being a good man. A good man may always be relied on; but, upon a bad man, there can be no dependence.

[The introductory observations on giving instructions for a march are as follow:]

This is the time for the officer and the non-commissioned officer to shew his attention and regard for order and regularity; this is the time for the soldier to give proof of his discipline.

There is no part of duty, during a campaign, of more importance than a march. Towns are taken, armies are defeated, and provinces won, by a march! There is, perhaps, no standard of merit between regiment and regiment so much to be depended upon, as the mode in which they respectively perform a march. It is therefore incumbent upon a regiment, as it values its honour, to take all opportunities of conducting its removal, from one quarter to another, with every form and precaution of a march through an enemy's country.

Disorder upon a march is not only grossly scandalous, but it retards and harasses the troops. It totally deprives them of that common principle of animation which they possess, while they move in one body, inspired by one soul. it is attended with easy surprise, and sure defeat.

Order, on the contrary, commands respect, gives perfect security let an enemy appear when and where he will, occasions celerity, and eases the troops, by bringing them so much sooner to their destined place of rest and refreshment.

When a regiment considers a march as a field-day's exercise, never letting a rank or a file be undressed, moving with

a measured step, pushing forward with ardour and spirit, no man stirring out of his place, except at the regular halts, calculating to a minute its arrival at its destination, and there making its entrance with the same silent attention and steadiness as are shewn before a reviewing general—then that regiment may be pronounced to be equal to any undertaking, and fit for any enterprise.

From the circumstances of long stages, bad roads, foul weather, heat of the sun, &c. marches will sometimes be fatiguing. But what, then? An English soldier scorns as much to be out of humour or out of spirits at a necessary fatigue, as to want courage on the appearance of danger. The sorry wretch, who can slink away from his comrades, or the dead-hearted looby, who groans and grumbles at an unavoidable fatigue, deserves to be kicked out of the ranks, and left in a ditch; and ought so to be treated, were it not for disgracing a regiment, by strewing the road with stragglers. A soldier is destined to frequent hardships; but thence arises one of the glories of his character. Let him bear them like a man, and from his own breast he will have more than a recompense. He whose spirit will not bear him like a man through the common sufferings of a soldier, let him tarry at home and rock the cradle.

No. V.

Vol. I., page 112.

Copy of a Letter from the Right Hon. the Earl of Shelburne, to John Audry, Esq. Chairman of the Wiltshire Committee. Read at a General Meeting of the County of Wilts, held at Devizes, on Wednesday, the 29th of March, 1780.

March 26, 1780.

SIR,

I am very much mortified that it is not in my power to perform a duty I feel so very agreeable and honourable, as

that of attending a Committee of Correspondence and Association at Devizes on Tuesday next, and the meeting of the county, which is to be held the subsequent day.

The early negative put upon the enquiry into the public expenditure in the House of Lords; the refusal of any account of places and pensions held by members of that house; the violence done to the constitution by the arbitrary removal of the Earl of Pembroke from the lord-lieutenancy of our county (an office which his ancestors have so long and so honourably held, I believe, from its first institution), for no other possible cause but for having voted as a free man upon a public question; as well as by that of the Marquis of Carmarthen from the lord-lieutenancy of the East Riding of Yorkshire:—

And in the House of Commons, the proceeding to lay new burthens, without taking any, much less effectual economical measures, in direct opposition to the prayer of our petition, as well as those of other counties; the number of taxes proposed to be superadded; some bearing very hard upon our county in particular; namely, that which regards the private brewery, besides the addition made to the severest of all duties, that on salt; when it is certain that triple the sum might have been, and may still be produced from the suppression of unnecessary offices, savings in the mode of expenditure, and other economical reforms, which require only integrity to accomplish; the difficulties which have been thrown in the way of a very able plan of reform now before the House; no enquiry made into exorbitant contracts; accountants suffered to remain with large public balances at their own disposal; the measure for a commission of accounts taken out of independent and disinterested hands, and assumed by the authors of our distress, in such a manner as to mock every idea of parliamentary independency, or popular enquiry; no expectation offered by the minister, except a possible reversionary reduction of those places which do not contribute to the influence of the Crown, in answer to the

petitions, desiring an abolition of those that do; and, withal, a position laid down as fundamental by the supporters of the court, and ministers in both Houses, that the influence of the Crown is not dangerous to the constitution, and is not increased, in contradiction to the evidence of all our senses: —

These facts, I apprehend, can leave little doubt with any freeholder, who approved of the former meeting, of the necessity of immediately associating for the accomplishment of those indispensable objects, stated in our petition, in as strong terms as constitutional language can dictate.

But I am sensible that it must occur to our county, as it has already done to others, to consider what steps can be taken to obtain that reform of which our present parliament gives so little hope, acting even under all its present circumstances; or what security can be had for preserving in future what we may have the good fortune to obtain in this moment of exigence. It gives me great satisfaction to find, that it has occurred to none to have recourse to other means than those purely civil, as well as strictly constitutional.— Though no one feels with more concern the abuses which have taken place in the militia, and particularly the departure from the ancient, true, fundamental, and, till of late years, invariable militia principles of keeping them within their counties, except in case of actual invasion (their present distant and unnecessary removals serving only to assimilate them to the standing army in principle and in habits, not in discipline); I still have that confidence in our army as well as militia, as at present constituted, that I hope neither are yet so estranged from a love of the constitution, as to give any just apprehension of danger.

Two measures have offered themselves for consideration, which, inasmuch as they affect the House of Commons merely, come unquestionably within the province of our county-meeting, and cannot, by any misrepresentation, be construed to arise from improper motives:—The one is to

shorten the duration of parliaments; the other, to equalize the representation, which at present confessedly bears no proportion, either to the number of people, the quantum of property, or the proportion of public contribution; nor does it hold to any rank or description whatever, but is the mere child of accident or intrigue.

The people of England, I conceive, have, and always had, a clear, unalienable, indefeasible right both to the one and the other, in their fullest extent, upon a stronger ground than that of any act or acts of parliament. That "the House of Commons must be free in every circumstance of its constitution", is the foundation-stone of all our government. The same right which the people had formerly, and, through the blessing of God, exerted so happily for us, their posterity, to have parliaments frequently holden, when they were aggrieved by the Crown's withholding them, now goes to have them frequently and equally chosen, when it appears, through the length of the duration, and the inequality of the representation, that they are still more aggrieved than they were formerly by the total want of them.—And if this should appear to be the sense of a fair majority of the people, collected together, either in county-meetings or in any other constitutional mode, there can be no doubt but that proper laws will be immediately enacted to restore the constitution to its first principles in these particulars: for it is not to be presumed, that the present defective representation would venture to oppose the manifest sense of those from whom they derive all their authority; much less that the House of Lords, constituted as it is, or the Crown, could be so ill-advised, as to deny their concurrence and assent to so salutary a reform, in a part of the constitution which more particularly belongs to the democracy.—These principles are so unalterably engraven in my mind, that I should hold myself criminal in the suppression of them when called for. It will be for the county to judge, whether they will proceed to declaratory resolutions on the subject of them, and then

wait till the sense of the rest of the kingdom is so far known; or whether they will be contented finally, without pushing the right of the people to its utmost extent, by insisting upon an annual election, and a total change of the representation. There are men of whose integrity there is but one voice, and whose judgement deserves every attention throughout England, who foresee more inconvenience than, I confess, I do in the whole extent of these propositions. Besides, the consequences of great changes have been, in all times, so uncertain, that it may be most prudent to avoid them; especially as in the present instance, I am free to own, that so far as I am capable of judging, every end may be obtained by the repeal of the Septennial Act, and a reasonable addition of county members, chosen by districts, or under some regulation which might preclude all unnecessary expense. But I shall most willingly subscribe to the discretion and wisdom of the meeting, in this and every other consideration of expediency; and I dare rely upon the generosity and candour of the county and committee, that they will put a just interpretation upon the liberty I take, meaning to assume no more than what might become any other freeholder; submitting my unreserved sentiments, in time of distress, to their better judgment, as I cannot have the honour of attending in person, when I might explain myself more particularly upon each part, as occasion might require. I have nothing so much at heart as to prove the sincerity and consistency of my conduct upon all occasions, but most of all in the county of my residence, and among a neighbourhood whose good opinion must in the end make the comfort and honour of my life.

I have the honour to be, with great respect and consideration,

Sir,

Your most obedient and humble Servant,

SHELBURNE.

A PLAN OF
two Fleets at Sea
MANŒUVERING & ENGAGING
Wind NE. & the Water smooth,

Their supposed Force as follows.

VIZ.	11 British	5 Enemy
Three Deckers	1	1
Other Ships of the Line	25	35
Total of the Line	36	40
Frigates	10	12
Sloops or Corvettes	6	10
Fire-ships	6	6
Cutters	4	12

Each Fleet is in five Divisions as follows, viz.

1st or Centric Division	8	8 Admiral
2nd or leading Division on the Starboard tack	8	8 Vice Admiral
3d or Rear on Ditto	8	8 D?
4th between the 1st & 2nd	6	8 Rear Admiral
5th between the 1st & 3d	5	8 D?

The British

British 2d & Enemy's 3d Divisions

Fifth Division

First Division

Fourth Division

Third Division

S.S.W. S. S.S.E. S.E. E.S.E. E. E.N.E.

A B C

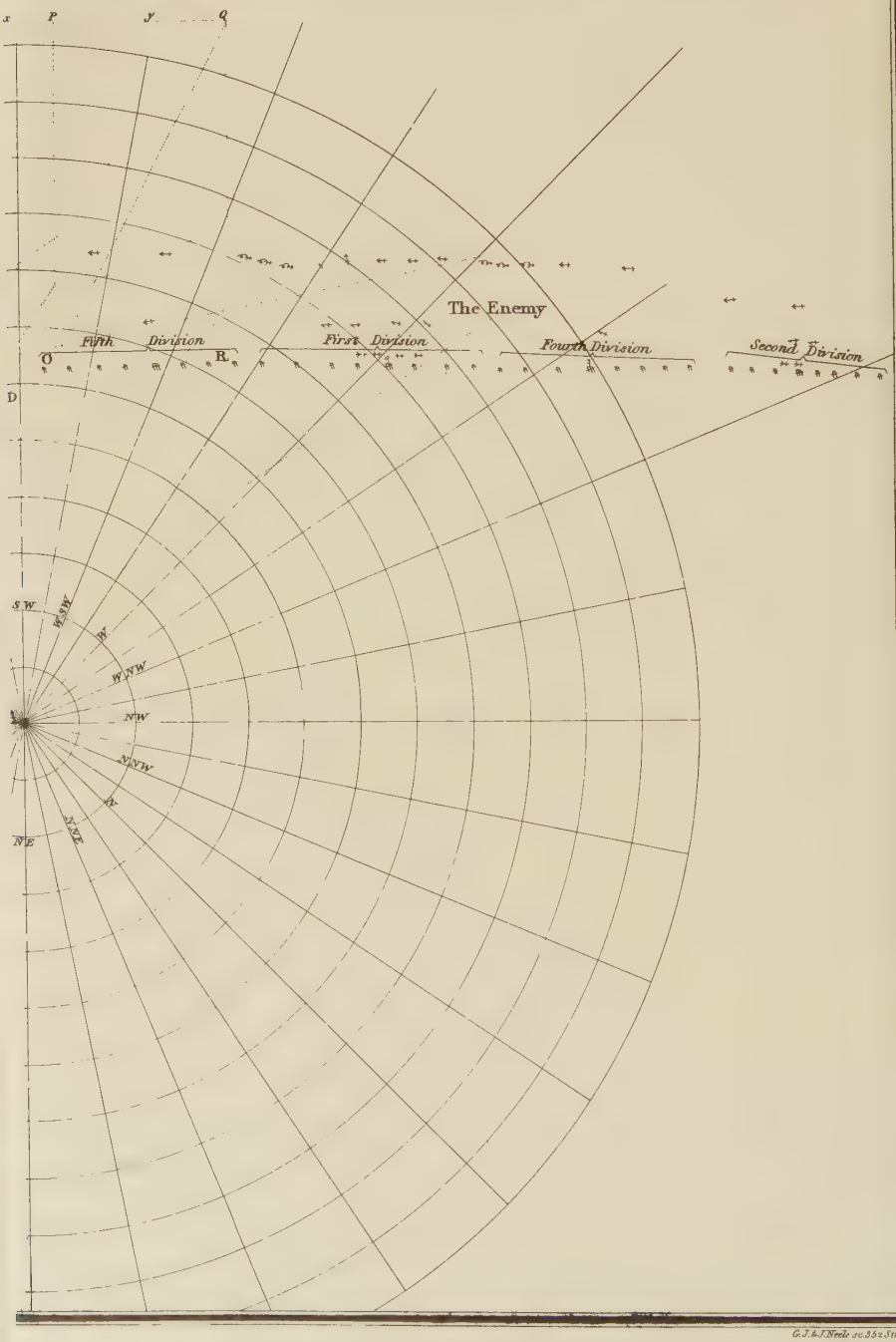
REFERENCE

≡ Three Deckers	Those of the Enemy expressed by the same characters crossed with a perpendicular line thus ⊞ ⇸ ⇾ ↞ or else drawn in another colour.
= Two Deckers of the Line	
⇸ Ditto not of the Line	
→ Frigates	
⇝ Sloops of War	
⇢ Bomb Ketches	
⇜ Fire Ships	
↞ Cutters	
--- Transports or Merchant Ships	

⊦ Admiral	Those of the Enemy reversed thus	⊣
⊦ Vice Admiral		⊣
⊦ Rear Admiral		⊣
⊦ Commodore		⊣

By the right use of the above characters you cannot mark a Ship's place without shewing at the same time the direction of her head.

T. C. fecit



C. J. & J. Neele sc. 352 Strand

No. VI.

Vol. I., page 130.

Naval Surveying, by John Cartwright, 1779.

Amongst other national desiderata, it were on many accounts to be wished that we were in possession of better means than have hitherto been employed, for taking plans of fleets while in action with, or manœuvring in the presence of an enemy. Every engagement at sea, between even the smallest squadrons, is an event highly interesting to the public. But when capital fleets encounter, peace or war, dominion or dismemberment, national triumph or humiliation, hang suspended in the precarious scales of battle. And whenever inadequate performances or glaring failures on the part of sea-officers may call for official, parliamentary, or judicial inquiries, it is very important that facts and circumstances closely connected with the honour, the prosperity, and even the safety of the nation, should be completely brought to light. But so long as we shall neglect the means of taking actual surveys upon the spot, and at the critical moments, for recording with fidelity the material events, and thereby of deciding, or rather preventing all controversy, so long we shall continue to be the sport of heated imaginations and the dupes of misrepresentation ; not to omit, that when the most able and impartial men are called upon, and perhaps at a distant period of time, for the particulars that have occurred in every part of a large fleet on occasion of an action or rencontre at sea, where all is in perpetual motion, and the whole scene is unceasingly assuming new appearances, it will perhaps be impossible for any two of them to agree in their statement of various important facts, notwithstanding all the aid that memoranda and journals can furnish; so that after the most minute and laborious investigation, we shall be in danger of remaining in doubt, if not in ignorance. But it is not only for the satisfaction of the ministry, the legislature, and the nation at large, that it is recommended

thus to rescue from obscurity all great operations at sea, but from a feeling also for those officers who may henceforth direct or bear a part in those operations; and whose fortunes, honour, and peace of mind, must depend on the future sentiments of their country. Let demerit of a certainty know that it shall not escape exposure; and let merit be also assured, that if not duly rewarded, it shall at least be known and celebrated.

In order to obtain such plans as might answer all these purposes, the following simple apparatus, and easy as well as dispatchful mode of surveying, is proposed:

1. Officers must be provided with various blank charts, such as the specimen given herewith; prepared only with all the points of the compass, and concentric circles at every half mile described thereon. The lines to be drawn with blue, green, or red ink; and the centres of the concentric circles to be placed at different points on different charts; so as that the surveying-officer may have charts suited to any situation his ship may be in, with respect to the fleet he is to survey.

2. Numerical lists similar to that hereafter given of your own fleet, great and small, with columns for remarks, must also be provided. And lists as complete as may be, or at least blank tables with similar columns, should also be in readiness for noting down what happened to the enemy; since, in judging of the conduct of an officer, the condition of an enemy's fleet or ship, as well as of his own, is to be taken into the consideration.

3. As often as it shall be thought proper to take a plan of the fleets, let a signal for that purpose, to particular ships, be thrown out. Upon the appearance of this signal, the apparatus to be brought forth, and then the signal answered. At the same instant the surveys to begin*. The bearing,

* A better way would be to throw out the signal twice, the first time for preparation only, and the second for execution. All the ships

and the estimated distance of every ship being taken, her place upon the chart is to be marked with the character* proper for her class, whether three-decker, two-decker, frigate, or other vessel; and her number as she stands upon the numerical list, or else her initials, as most dispatchful, to be added thereto.

In the execution of this design, two or more persons may be employed at the same time, provided their several departments are properly assigned them. One, for instance, to take the places of the other surveying-ships, the flags, the van and rear ships, as well as those also of the enemy, if in the same quarter, or mixed with your own ships in fight; another, to take all intermediate ships that fill up the less important spaces in the line; a third, to take frigates, convoys, small-craft, &c. But the principal person should himself always take every ship whose situation is critical, or particularly interesting to either fleet. Very few minutes will be necessary for thus giving every ship a place in your plan; especially if surveying be made an occasional practice while a fleet is in the act of performing manœuvres for exercise upon a cruise.

4. While some persons are proceeding as above, others at the same time are to be noting down the apparent *condition* of every ship in both fleets, marking it opposite to her name or description, in the numerical lists or table above mentioned; for the expeditious performance of which the following signs† or short-hand characters are offered, until others better calculated for the purpose shall be invented.

concerned having by their answers signified their readiness, the signal should be hauled down, and then upon its being repeated, the work instantly to begin.

* ⫻ three-decker: ⇒ two-decker: ↖ frigate. The characters to point in the same direction as the ship, as near as may be.

† On account of the delay it would have occasioned in having these signs cut on wood, they have been omitted. It is, however, not thought material, as any officer adopting the plan, may easily form characters for it.

N.B. A ship has too little sail set when she requires and is able to set more, in order to keep, or to reach the station assigned her, to relieve a friend whom she ought to relieve, or to attack an enemy whom she ought to attack; and she has too much, when her station is overshot, and she neglects to shorten sail accordingly, or when she flies from an enemy for whom she ought to wait.

To the above short rules, it cannot be necessary to add many observations. The plan herewith submitted to consideration will best illustrate what has been laid down. It is supposed to have been taken at A; from a ship sent thither for that purpose, as soon as it became probable that an action would speedily ensue. It will be readily admitted, that all the material errors to which it is subject, must be in the respective *distances* of the several ships from the point A. But it will soon appear that in the distances themselves there will be no material error, if similar plans shall be taken from other ships properly situated. On the present occasion I have supposed only two other surveys to be made, from B and from C; making, with A, a triangle nearly equilateral. As the sides of this triangle make the governing bases of the survey, the angles of it are to be very carefully taken with Azimuth compasses. Since, then, these angles must be the same in each survey, it follows, that when the three plans shall be brought together, the very act of reconciling these angles must, of necessity, correct all erroneous distances, so as to give the several sides of the triangle with almost geometrical exactness, especially when there are such a variety of other bearings as will all contribute towards this reconciliation of angles throughout the several surveys. It also follows, that when the angles agree, whatever incorrectness shall still remain undetected, will affect all the distances alike, and be proportional. If, however, by any farther means, such slight incorrectness of distance may be discovered, a mere enlargement or contraction in your scale of miles will

set all right, and perfect your plan. Now, in order to provide for such discovery, it seems adviseable that a sloop or cutter should attend the surveying-ship at A; and as soon as the survey begins, make sail for the line of battle, upon a course at right angles to that which is steered by the fleet. Then, if the fleet only keep its course till the cutter sails to D, and, if the cutter have frequently measured her rate of sailing by the log, as well as noted the time spent in the run, the surveying officer will obtain the distance from A to D with a degree of accuracy fully sufficient for his purpose. The same might be done by another vessel measuring the run from B to E. It is unnecessary to add, that having the angle C A D, and the length of the perpendicular A D, the length also of the hypothenuse A C is known; and that the side A C, together with all the angles of the triangle A B C, gives you the sides A B and B C. Your data, then, for taking a survey, is complete; and when practice shall enable your officers to perform it with despatch, it will be little inferior in mathematical exactness to the surveys taken on land.

Whenever the different parts of the fleet or fleets which are to be surveyed, may be sailing in contrary or very different directions, as on the present occasion is the case with the second and fourth divisions of the British fleet, it is obvious that the respective positions of the ships should be ascertained as instantaneously as possible, and before any of them, to the eye of the surveying officer, shall appear to cross each other. And if, to his observation, they form mere groups, or clusters, as at C, it will be sufficient to ascertain the true bearing of a single ship, as the surveying-ship No. 12, and to catch the rest with a glance of his eye; so that their change of position within a few moments, while, from memory he gives each its place upon the plan, may not occasion any discoverable inaccuracy of bearings. Then, when the survey taken at C shall be consulted, it is evident that the most trivial incorrectnesses will be done away.

If your fleet be to leeward, as that of the enemy is represented in the chart, you obtain an accurate perpendicular by means of a cutter being stationed in the line at O, which, upon the signal for surveying, runs down rectangularly to the line of the course (x y) steered by the fleet, as well as by the surveying frigate at Q. By allowing for the probable excess of swiftness by which the cutter will out-sail the frigate that keeps pace with the fleet, you may easily provide for their both arriving at P about the same time, in order that the admeasurement may be the more correct. As O P is equal to Q R, the surveying officer thus obtains the perpendicular he sought.

As such surveys would not only exhibit lively and faithful representations of the good or ill effects of manœuvres, but likewise record the particular conduct of every captain, in executing the designs of the commander-in-chief, it should seem that the practice of surveying would necessarily tend to excite in the officers, attention and emulation, as well as to improve our naval tactics in general.

Although I have here supposed only three ships to survey the fleet, my meaning, nevertheless, is that in all ships of the fleet the apparatus should be at hand, and that every ship which finds itself well situated for ascertaining the positions of any part of the fleet, especially where there is any group or double line of ships, should, at least if at leisure, make a partial survey of such group or double line, at the instant of taking the general survey by the particular ships appointed for that purpose.

[Here follows a plan entitled "Remarks on the Apparent Condition of each Ship respectively at the several times of Surveying the Fleet." It consists of three columns: the first is "A Numerical List of the Fleet under the command of ————"; the next column has at its head the date, with the hour and minute the remarks commenced, and how many minutes were spent in taking them; and the third is "The Condition of the Enemy's Ships in battle, and as respectively

opposed to the British." In the second column, the characters standing for the bow-sprit, jib-boom, &c. as well as those which shew in what state the ship is in at the time specified above, are inserted.]

N.B. The numerical list always to be taken from van to rear upon the *starboard* tack. After the whole line, the frigates and small craft of the van or second division to come next, and then those of the fourth, first, fifth and third, successively*.

In noting down the condition of ships, observe the same order as appears in the table of short-hand characters; that is, proceed regularly from the bow-sprit aft; taking also lower masts before top-masts, all masts before yards, and rigging last of all. This method will promote both accuracy and despatch.

EXPLANATION of the Circumstances at the time of taking the Plan.

Eight of the British van have attacked eight of the enemy's rear, and forced some of them round to the other tack, but all of them out of the line, by laying them on board well forward upon the bow, and then wearing ship. The rear division, at the same time, have made sail to windward, in order to be in readiness for meeting the enemy's van, in case it should tack; while the three centre divisions stand on, with intention of making a second attack, of the same nature as the first, should the enemy abandon his rear, and make no new manœuvre in the mean time. But at the moment of taking the plan, the enemy perceiving his rear must inevitably fall a sacrifice, if not supported, is in the act of wearing his four divisions that have not engaged, meaning to engage

* Perhaps it would contribute to perspicuity if the divisions also, as well as the ships, should on all occasions be uniformly numbered from van to rear on the starboard tack.

the British line upon contrary tacks, in order to avoid a decisive action, and to keep between their main body and the detached ships to leeward, in hopes, should the approaching action prove favourable for him, of taking advantage of their separation. The British Admiral being, however, aware of the danger of such a separation, as well as of the undecisiveness of all actions of fleets upon contrary tacks, will wait only until he sees the enemy hauling upon the larboard tack, when he will immediately put his fleet nearly before the wind, steer west till he covers his second division and gets to leeward of the enemy's line, then wear round to the larboard tack, and bring to, for the enemy to pass (if they like it) to windward of him ; ordering, at the same time, his third division into its original station again. By this manœuvre, the enemy's third division must be separated from his main body, and no alternative left him but the loss of that division, or a decisive action between the fleets. Then if the enemy, determined to keep to leeward, again bears up for that purpose, and drops beyond the two divisions in battle, the British Admiral will do the same ; but now he will form to windward of their line, still separating it from their third division. In making this manœuvre, the British Admiral, as he must pass through the divisions in battle, would have an opportunity of completing the defeat of the enemy's ships, by the fire his fresh ships would pour into them in passing. Should the enemy now choose to engage, and for that purpose should range along to leeward, the fourth division of the British, as soon as an equal number of the enemy are abreast of them, must bear up, and board them well forward on the bow as before mentioned, so as to force them, at all events, out of the line, and, if possible, upon the contrary tack, notwithstanding an approach will thereby be made towards the rear of their fleet, while the British van is leading another way; and at the same instant, the van division, or the third, must be ordered to tack and make sail to the NW., so as to be ready either for falling on the rear of the enemy,

in case it should interfere with the British fourth division to leeward, or for once more returning to its original station, or posting itself elsewhere, as occasion might require. It is by bold and unexpected manœuvres that those breaks and separations of fleets are effected, which, to the less able and the less determined combatants would prove disorder, confusion, and defeat. As the fighting in regular lines, especially upon contrary tacks, and a close adherence to the systematic modes of preserving the unity of a fleet, are, of all things, the best calculated to improve the advantages which the enemy at present derive from their numbers, by encouraging them in disputing with us the dominion of the sea; so it is our best policy carefully to avoid engaging upon the contrary tack, whenever it may be avoided, as well as by all possible means which superior seamanship and the daringness of the British naval character will suggest, to disconcert all their attempts at regular fighting: for, in proportion to the irregularity of a sea-fight, we may reckon upon the great advantages of that hardiness and skill which is not the distinction of our commanders only, but of our nation.

This anticipation of events beyond what the survey supposes to have taken place, is only intended to justify the original departure from regularity in the imaginary action, as not hazarded without a foresight of consequences.

No. VII.

Vol. I., page 191.

Regulations of the Society of The Friends of the People, associated for the Purpose of obtaining a Parliamentary Reform.

I. Resolved, That the title of this society be, "The Friends of the People, associated for the Purpose of obtaining a Parliamentary Reform."

II. That the declaration agreed upon at the meeting of the 11th of April 1792, expresses the political objects of this Society.

III. That no person be capable of becoming a member of this Society until he has expressed his assent, by subscribing his name to the above-mentioned declaration.

IV. That every candidate for admission to this Society shall be proposed and seconded by two of its members, and balloted for at the succeeding meeting.

V. That the election of members shall be by ballot, and that no candidate shall be deemed duly elected unless it shall appear that he is chosen by nine-tenths of the members present.

VI. That until the Society shall consist of one hundred and fifty members, no ballot shall be taken, or other business begun, unless a number, not less than one third, of the members of the Society be present.

VII. That a general meeting of this Society be held at Freemasons' Hall, at one o'clock in the forenoon, on the first Saturday in every month, during the sitting of Parliament.

VIII. That the members of this Society be duly summoned to every general meeting, and that for that purpose they enter their places of abode in a book, to be kept by the committee hereafter described.

IX. That a committee, consisting of twelve persons, be appointed, one fourth of which shall be replaced by election at each general meeting of the Society.

X. That this committee be empowered to conduct the ordinary correspondence with all individuals or societies desirous of promoting the cause of Parliamentary Reform.

XI. That the duty of this committee shall be to prepare such business as shall appear to them fit to be laid before the general meetings of the Society; and that they shall be requested to draw up such Resolutions as they shall deem proper to be submitted to their consideration.

XII. That this committee be hereby enjoined strictly to

conform, in all their correspondence, or other communications, to the principles contained in the declaration of the 11th of April, 1792.

XIII. That such committee have power and authority to regulate the mode of their own proceeding, conforming to the general rules and occasional instructions of the Society, and also to employ any clerks at the expense of the Society, and to draw upon the treasurer for any sums which they may find necessary for their proceedings.

XIV. That it be a general instruction to the committee, in their correspondence, to advise all friends of Parliamentary Reform, to form themselves into similar Societies, on similar principles, in all parts of the kingdom; and that a copy of the Declaration of the 11th of April, be transmitted to all such Societies.

XV. That to defray the necessary expences of the Society, each member shall, on his admission, pay to the treasurer two guineas and a half, and continue the same payment annually, computed from Lady-day 1792.

XVI. That two treasurers shall be annually appointed to receive the contributions of the members, and that they shall be empowered to issue money upon the order of the committee, or the vote of a general meeting.

XVII. That the committee be empowered to call extraordinary meetings of the Society, giving as much previous notice to the members as the exigency of the business may permit.

DECLARATION.

A number of persons having seriously reviewed and considered the actual situation of public affairs, and state of the kingdom, and having communicated to each other their opinions on these subjects, have agreed and determined to institute a Society, for the purpose of proposing to Parliament, and to the country, and of promoting, to the utmost of their power, the following constitutional objects, making the

preservation of the constitution, on its true principles, the foundation of all their proceedings.

First—To restore the freedom of election, and a more equal representation of the people in Parliament.

Secondly—To secure to the people a more frequent exercise of their right of electing their representatives.

The persons who have signed their names to this agreement think, that these two fundamental measures will furnish the power and the means of correcting the abuses, which appear to them to have arisen from a neglect of the acknowledged principles of the constitution, and of accomplishing those subordinate objects of reform, which they deem to be essential to the liberties of the people, and to the good government of the kingdom.

A LIST OF THE MEMBERS OF THE SOCIETY.

Charles Grey, Esq. M.P.
Hon. Thomas Maitland, M.P.
George Rous, Esq.
William Cuninghame, Esq.
John Tweddell, Esq.
Earl of Lauderdale.
Nicolls Raynsford, Esq.
James Mackintosh, Esq.
Thomas Christie, Esq.
Malcolm Laing, Esq.
Right Hon. Lord Kinnaird.
James Archdekin, Esq.
William Harwood, Esq.
David Godfrey, Esq.
Higgins Eden, Esq.
Philip Francis, Esq. M.P.
Charles Goring, Esq.
John Hurford Stone, Esq.
W. H. Lambton, Esq. M.P.
John Godfrey, Esq.
George Tierney, Esq.
Arthur Pigott, Esq.
J. B. Church, Esq. M.P.
Gilbert Ironside, Esq.
T. B. Hollis, Esq.
William Baker, Esq. M.P.
Samuel Whitbread, jun. Esq. M.P.
Dudley North, Esq. M.P.
Sir John Throckmorton, Bart.
John Courtenay, Esq. M.P.
M. A. Taylor, Esq. M.P.
William Breton, Esq.
Thomas Rogers, Esq.
Hon. Thomas Erskine, M.P.
R. Knight, Esq.
Thomas Thompson, Esq. M.P.
Colonel Tarleton, M.P.
H. Howorth, Esq.
Mr. Serjeant Bond.
William Lushington, Esq.
Right Hon. Lord John Russell, M.P.
Samuel Rogers, Esq.
T. C. Curwen, Esq. M.P.
Peregrine Dealtry, Esq.
Richard Brinsley Sheridan, Esq. M.P.
William Fullarton, Esq.
Norman Macleod, Esq. M.P.
James Losh, Esq.

John Sawbridge, Esq. Ald. M.P.
Richard Weld, Esq.
John Claridge, Esq.
John Wharton, Esq. M.P.
James Martin, Esq. M.P.
William Smith, Esq. M.P.
John Scott, Esq. M.P.
Sir Bellingham Graham, Bart.
George Byng, Esq. M.P.
John Cartwright, Esq.
Jer. Batley, Esq.
Ralph Carr, jun. Esq.
Ralph Milbanke, Esq. M.P.
Henry Howard, Esq.
Sir J. W. S. Gardiner, Bart.
B. E. Howard, Esq.
E. B. Clive, Esq.
Sir George Staunton, Bart.
Henry Howard, Esq. M.P.
John Leach, Esq.
John Nicholls, Esq.
Joseph Richardson, Esq.
John Towgood, Esq.
William Chisholm, Esq.
John Fazakerly, Esq.
Richard S. Milnes, Esq. M.P.
Samuel Shore, Esq.
Samuel Shore, jun. Esq.
Charles Warren, Esq.
Long Kingsman, Esq.
Edward Jer. Curteis, Esq.
Samuel Long, Esq. M.P.
Henry Swann, Esq.
T. B. Rous, Esq.
D. O'Bryen, Esq.
J. Lodge Batley, Esq.
James West, Esq.
Richard Carpenter Smith, Esq.
W. Powlett Powlett, Esq. M.P.
George Livius, Esq.
Right Hon. Lord Daer.
Hon. John Douglas.
Right Hon. Lord Edward Fitzgerald.
Rev. Dr. Kippis.
James Jacque, Esq.
Francis Love Beckford, Esq.
Adam Walker, Esq.
Richard Sharp, Esq.
Rev. Dr. Joseph Towers.
John Clerk, Esq.
Thomas Bell, Esq.
John Wilson, Esq.
Andrew Stirling, Esq.

COMMITTEE.

William Baker, Esq., M.P. Chairman.
Charles Grey, Esq. M.P.
Samuel Whitbread, jun. Esq. M.P.
John Wharton, Esq. M.P.
R. B. Sheridan, Esq. M.P.
Philip Francis, Esq. M.P.
Hon. Thomas Maitland, M.P.
William Henry Lambton, Esq. M.P.
George Rous, Esq.
John Godfrey, Esq.
William Cuninghame, Esq.
James Mackintosh, Esq.

TREASURERS.

Right Honourable Lord Kinnaird.
George Tierney, Esq.

No. VIII.

Vol. I., page 216.

TO THE CHAIRMAN OF THE SOCIETY OF THE FRIENDS OF THE PEOPLE.

SIR,

By the "Society for Constitutional Information", I am commanded to express to you the satisfaction that its members feel on the institution of your Society.

That the House of Commons itself, which is the very subject to be reformed, should have furnished a part of this strength, may ultimately afford important advantages to the public. But it must not, Sir, be disguised, that at first this circumstance will necessarily be accompanied with doubts, with suspicions, with apprehensions. It is not, Sir, the first time that numbers of that house have professed themselves reformers: it is not the first time that they have entered into popular associations. But should they on this occasion, prove faithfully instrumental in effecting a substantial reform in the representation of the people, and the duration of parliaments, it will be the first time that the nation hath not found itself in an error, when it placed confidence in associated members of Parliament, for the recoveries of the constitutional and inestimable rights of the people. The long-lost rights of representation, are rights, Sir, which in truth are not to be recovered but by the exertions and the unanimity of the people themselves. Impressed with this great truth, it has been an invariable object of this Society to revive in the minds of the commonalty at large a knowledge of their lost rights, respecting the election and duration of the representative body; and we doubt not that your Society will see the wisdom of pursuing a like course. May it taste the delight of diffusing this knowledge; may it reap the honour of calling forth the energies of the nation!

When this Society, Sir, contemplates that flood of light and truth which, under a benign Providence, is now sweeping from the earth despotism in all its forms, an infringement

of rights in all its degrees, to make way for freedom, justice, peace, and human happiness; and when it sees your Society announce itself to the world as the friends of the people, it rests assured that this new institution abundantly partakes of that light, that it embraces that truth, and it will act up to the sacredness of that friendship which it professes, by nobly casting from it with disdain, all aristocratic reserves, and fairly and honestly contending for the people's rights in their full extent.

Here, Sir, be assured, lies all your strength. You may boast of names, of wealth, of talents, and even of principles; but without the fellowship of the people, understanding and feeling their immediate interest in the contest, your association, whenever it grapples with that powerful despotism to which it is opposed, and to which a constitutional cloak gives double strength, will most assuredly crumble to dust.

Here, Sir, it is with peculiar satisfaction that the "Society for Constitutional Information" can express its belief, that to its own unequivocal "Declaration of Rights, without which no Englishman can be a freeman, nor the English nation a free people", it owes that confidence on the part of all true friends to a substantial reform of Parliament, which in all periods of the Society's existence it has invariably experienced.

This short Declaration, containing no more than four distinct propositions, satisfied the people that the Society assumed not the office of reformer, without knowing with precision what wanted reform; nor the character of friend, without manifesting that sincerity which gave proof of its attachment. It left to such reformers as Mr. Burke to talk of the people's liberties, and at the same time to deny or explain away their rights.

This Society, Sir, trusts that the purity of principle which actuated individual members of Parliament, who joined the associations that have been spoken of, will in no degree be affected by the observations that have been made upon the

insufficiency of those associations. But, convinced that a strong impression still remains upon the minds of the people, that in general, persons who have long been accustomed to hold seats in the House of Commons, under the present abuses in the representation, and whose connexions are all aristocratic, must be almost more than men, at once and completely to sacrifice both prejudice and unwarranted power at the altar of freedom; this Society, convinced I say, Sir, of the existence of this impression, would not suffer its delicacy to stand in the way of its duty on this important occasion; but determined with the frankness belonging to sincere affection, to warn its new brethren against a danger to which they might otherwise become exposed through mere inadvertency.

That the distinguished persons who have adorned the senate, and now adorn your Society, may be found equal to the sublime efforts of virtue which their situation now demands, and may on that account receive the blessings of their country and of mankind to the latest posterity, is the sincere, the ardent wish of the Society for Constitutional Information! In whose name I have the honour to subscribe myself with great regard, Yours, &c.

JOHN CARTWRIGHT, Chairman.

No. IX.

Vol. I., page 288.

EXHIBITION at No. 118, Pall-Mall, of the Drawings of the HIERONAUTICON, or NAVAL TEMPLE.

CATALOGUE.

1. An elevation of the Hieronauticon on paper, $7\frac{1}{2}$ feet square.

Amongst the enrichments of this elevation, are personifications of the sea-port and river-towns of Great Britain and Ireland; personifications of the winds; various heavenly constellations; Alfred amidst his compeers in Elysium,

"Seated, for deeds like his, on radiant thrones,"—Trident, p. 87.

rehearsing, in epic song, the glories of Britain; his present Majesty, attended by his three eldest sons, his victorious admirals, his ministers and others, receiving a drawing of the Hieronauticon, and pointing out the place for its erection; occupations subservient to naval greatness, in six circular bas-reliefs; thirty naval engagements; a grand column in a new order of architecture, called the Nautico-triumphant, crowned with a pedestal adorned with Tritons on sea-horses, supporting a statue of the Genius of Britain, directing the attention of his children to their Trident,

"Dominion's symbol; and bright Glory's sign."—Trident, p. 90.

Upon the plinth of the temple are introduced the sea-lion, the whale, the narwhal, and other gigantic inhabitants of the deep; at the foundations of the first story, are projections of the stem and the stern of the state ship of Edward III.; and, in like manner, from the towers of the upper story, likewise project the celebrated galleys of Alfred, the first ships of war ever built by the English, and consequently the germ of the English navy.

J. C. inv^{t}.
J. Gandy, archit.
W. Hamilton, hist. painter } delin^{t}.
T. Stothard, ditto
W. Anderson, marine painter

2. A ground-plan; shewing the vaulted cemetery, cellars, &c. under one half of the building, with which the other half corresponds; and shewing also the solidity of the foundations on which every part of the superstructure would stand. Here, also, is seen the chapel, corresponding with the registry in the opposite front.—J. C. inv. J. Gandy delin.

3. A longitudinal section of half the cellar F (see No. 2.), and the same of half the pantry, which is above that cellar, and on a level with the banqueting room.—J. C. inv. J. Gandy delin.

4. A transverse section of the south central tower of the lower socle, corresponding with its opposite; shewing the apartments into which it is divided; namely, G, staircase; H, lobby of the vestibule; I, retiring room; K, coffee-room for ladies.—J. C. inv. J. Gandy delin.

5. Fig. I, is a diagonal section of one angle tower of the lower socle, to which the other three are similar; containing L, the staircase for ascending to M, the lobby of the banqueting room; N, a retiring room; O, a gun-room; P, lobby of the terrace, with its screw staircase for ascending to the battery. Fig. II, is also a diagonal section of the NE. angle tower of the upper socle; to which the SW. tower is similar within: each contains Q, a lobby; R, a retiring room from the royal apartments; S, a retiring room from the terrace; T, a lobby and gun-room: but in the NW. and SE. towers of this socle, the whole space between the floor of the state apartments, and the terrace above, is an open staircase. The landings which form the lobbies to the state apartments, are to be as large as the interior of these upper towers will admit; because these lobbies are to be entered from the lower terrace, by doors under the first landings of the external staircases.—J. C. inv. J. Gandy delin.

6. A double plan, on one half of which is shewn the plan of the banqueting room, corresponding with the hall of emulation; also half the vestibule, and half the saloon; all within the lower socle; likewise the hall of Alfred, corresponding with the hall of victory; half the hall of audience, and half the pavilion; all which belong to the upper socle. The other half of this plan exhibits half of each of the terraces, or parades, with which the apartments are roofed; the lower of which, at 76 feet from the ground, is wider than the street before the admiralty gate; and the other, at an elevation of 133 feet, is wider than Oxford Street, at the Pantheon.—J. C. inv. J. Gandy delin.

7. A longitudinal section of half the banqueting-room, and half the hall of Alfred; together with the cemetery below,

corresponding with the opposite apartments in the west front. —J. C. inv. J. Gandy delin.

8. A longitudinal section of the hall of audience, corresponding with the pavilion.—J. C. inv. J. Gandy delin.

9. Sections of the eastern half of the temple, at the centre; containing, besides the arched cemetery, U, a transverse section of the chapel; V, a transverse section of the pantry; W, a transverse section of the banqueting-room, with its central portico; X, a like section of the trophy room; Y, gentlemen's coffee-room; Z, a transverse section of the hall of Alfred, with three retiring rooms within the adjoining tower; and the upper termination of the external staircase, by which you arrive at the terrace from below.—J. C. inv. J. Gandy delin.

10. A window of the lower story, the grand plate of which is 11 feet long, and 8 feet 7 inches broad, and an inch thick after grinding and polishing.—J. C. inv. J. Gandy delin.

11. A study of a navigation school.

12. A ditto of boat-building.

13. A ditto of the pilchard fishery.

14. A ditto of the whale fishery.

15. A ditto of ship-building.

16. A ditto of the Eddystone, and a stone boat.

The preceding six numbers are part of 24 emblematic designs taken from trades and occupations which are instrumental to naval power and greatness.—J. C. inv. W. Hamilton delin.

17. The pattern of the balustrades of the terraces and external staircases; with a parapet wall of one landing.—J. C. inv. J. Gandy delin.

18. A design for the ornament of one of the parapets, in bas-relief, together with two studies for the same purpose.—J. C. inv. W. Hamilton delin.

19. Drawings, with sections of the frames of the entablatures for the naval engagements, of three different dimensions, adapted to inscriptions.—J. C. inv. J. Gandy delin.

20. A drawing, to shew that the united spears of Albion, Erin and Caledon, or England, Ireland and Scotland, constitute the sceptre of the sea. It has wings which bear it, at pleasure, to every coast from the Thames to the Antipodes.—J. C. inv. J. Gandy delin.

> " Trident far fam'd! the gift of Ocean's god,
> His will to do where'er his billows roll;
> So that sweet peace and intercourse may reign
> 'Tween land and land; and busy commerce spread
> To ev'ry kissing wind her countless sails;
> That earth, well cultur'd, may abundance yield;
> And science, art, and elegance abound,
> The sum of human happiness to swell:
> Where'er audacious Wrong shall rear his head,
> Or curs'd Oppression mar the general good;
> Swift as the eagle, speed thee to oppose,
> The injured to redress, and right restore!"—Trident, p. 86.

21. A self-moving vessel; the repetition of which forms the frieze under the balustrade of the lower terrace.—J. C. inv. J. Gandy delin.

In Homer's Odyssey, the king of Phæacia says to Ulysses,

> " Say from what city, from what region toss'd,
> And what inhabitants those regions boast,
> So shalt thou instant reach the realm assign'd,
> In wond'rous ships self-moved, instinct with mind;
> No helm secures their course, no pilot guides,
> Like man intelligent, they plough the tides,
> Conscious of every coast, and every bay,
> That lies beneath the sun's all-seeing ray."—Pope, B. 8.

22. A compound nautic frieze, seen under the balustrade of the upper terrace; its recurrences are marked by erect tridents.—J. C. inv. J. Gandy delin.

23. A piscal enrichment of the cymatium of the pedestal of the column.—J. C. inv. J. Gandy delin.

24. A nautic frieze for enriching the string-courses which divide the basements of the towers from the superstructure. —J. C. inv. J. Gandy delin.

25. A British nautic lyre. Its three strings symbolically denote the music and lyric poetry of Albion, Erin and Caledon; as the termination of those three strings, in the form of a trident, emblematically expresses that which is the subject to be celebrated.—J. C. inv. J. Gandy delin.

26. A Tritonic frieze, that adorns the parapet of every tower.—J. C. inv. J. Gandy delin.

27. Lightning issuing from a cloud; an ornament frequently introduced; but, in allusion to naval prowess, it always receives a tridental form.—J. C. inv. J. Gandy delin.

28. A frieze of male Tritons training to naval war the children of Britain. It covers the plinth of the pedestal, which could not, according to the custom of architecture, be left naked, as it rises in the midst of a grand parade.—J. C. inv. W. Hamilton delin.

29. A frieze of female Tritons educating British infants to naval pursuits, but without allusion to war. It is for adorning the Attic part of the upper towers, above the cornice, throughout the quarter which is next the terrace.—J. C. inv. W. Hamilton delin.

30. The study, from which was copied the above-mentioned group of Alfred and his compeers in Elysium, to whom the royal bard is rehearsing the glories of Britain. — J. C. inv. W. Hamilton delin.

> " Thy storm-train'd hardihood, thy matchless skill,
> Thine eagle energies, fierce, swift, and strong,
> He sings :"—Trident, p. 88.

31. A personification of the SSE. wind in a state of repose.—J. C. inv. W. Hamilton delin.

32. A ditto of the S. by E. wind preparing for action.—J. C. inv. W. Hamilton delin.

33. A ditto of the S. wind, about to rain after thunder.—J. C. inv. W. Hamilton delin.

34. A ditto of the S. by W. wind in a state of indetermination.—J. C. inv. W. Hamilton delin.

35. A personification of the SSW. wind in a state of composure after vehemence.—J. C. inv. W. Hamilton delin.

36. A ditto of the SW. by S. wind in full exertion.—J. C. inv. W. Hamilton delin.

37. A ditto of the SW. wind reposing after fatigue.—J. C. inv. W. Hamilton delin.

38. A ditto of the E. wind, scattering snow, and preparing to send forth his "arrowy sleet."—J. C. inv. W. Hamilton delin.

NW. This wind was here classed by a mistake of the author.

39. A study for the bas-relief of the pedestal, representing the king receiving a drawing of the Hieronauticon, and pointing to the hill on which it is to be erected. His Majesty, 1; is attended by the Prince of Wales, 2; the Duke of York, 3; the Duke of Clarence, 4; Lords, Howe, 5; St. Vincent, 6; Duncan, 7; and Nelson, 8; First Lord of the Treasury, 9; of the Admiralty, 10; and Comptroller of the Navy, 11; Admiral of the Fleet, 12; Secretary of the Admiralty, 13; of the Treasury, 14; Governor of the Bank, 15; Chairman of the India Company, 16; Secretary of the Committee, 17; Master of the Trinity House, 18; Master-General of the Ordnance, 19; Home Secretary of State, 20; President of the Board of Control, 21; Admirals, Young, 22; Sir J. Colpoys, 23; Sir C. M. Pole, 24; Second Secretary of the Admiralty, 25; Commandant of Marines, 26; Lord Mayor of London, 27; Chairman of the West India Merchants, 28; Chairman of Lloyd's Underwriters, 29; Captains, Sir W. S. Smith, 30; of the Frigate, 31; Lieutenant of ditto, 32; Second ditto, 33; President of the Royal Academy, 34; its Professor of Antient Literature, 35; Surveyor-General of the Board of Works, 36; and the Architect of the Design presenting the Drawing, 37.—J. C. inv. W. Hamilton and T. Stothard delin.

40. A personification of the Genius of Britain, from which was copied the figure on the elevation, No. 1, that crowns

the column. He is "directing the attention of Britons to that Trident on which depends the protection of their colonies and their commerce, and the chastisement of those who insult their coasts." Trident, p. 152.—J. C. inv. W. Hamilton delin.

41. A new order of Architecture, called the Nautico-Tuscan.

42. A ditto, called the Nautico-Doric.

43. A ditto, called the Nautico-Ionic.

44. A ditto, called the Nautico-Corinthian.

45. A ditto, called the Nautico-Composite.

46. A ditto, called the Nautico-Triumphant; being the same as that of the great column of the Hieronauticon, intended for the central point of triumphal celebrations.

All the orders invented by J. C. and drawn by J. Gandy.

No. X.

Vol. I., page 311.

Admiralty Office, 23d Nov. 1803.

SIR,

Having laid before my Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty your letter of the 19th instant, respecting some improvements you have made in guard pikes, I am commanded by their Lordships to acquaint you that the adoption of these pikes does not rest with them, and that the model has been sent to the Master General of the Ordnance.

I herewith return the enclosure of your letter,

And am, Sir,

Your very humble Servant,

EVAN NEPEAN.

JOHN CARTWRIGHT, ESQ.
31, Arundel Street.

No. XI.

Vol. I., page 312.

COPY of a LETTER to the SPEAKER of the HOUSE of COMMONS, sent with a Copy of the Tract on "Congregational Courts".

1st of February, 1785.

SIR,

The fatal effects of suffering the *antient civil polity* of this kingdom to become obsolete were notoriously exemplified by the burglary, last year, in the house of the *Lord Chancellor*, when his Lordship was robbed of *the great seal;* and also in the daring attack made on *your own house* last Saturday, when *the robe* of the *Right Honourable the Speaker of the House of Commons* was, with other valuable property, violently seized and carried off; an account of which I read in the *Public Advertiser* of this morning, and have, therefore, taken the liberty to send you a tract, not yet published, on the *Ancient Division of the Kingdom into Hundreds and Tithings;* whereby all the *liberty*, *property* and *peace*, of all inhabitants were effectually secured by the admirable system of *mutual frank pledge;* insomuch, "*that a poor girl might travel safely with a bag of gold in her hand*" (says Heylin, p. 305), "*and none durst meddle with her.*" But much more eminent historians than *Heylin* bear unanimous testimony to the *effectual* security of the inimitable polity of *frank pledge*, and the contrast of those times with the present is surely striking; for who can be secure when even the *Lord Chancellor* and *the Speaker of the House of Commons* cannot find an asylum in their own houses from the midnight attacks of common robbers! And though some gentlemen, to whom I have communicated the subject, have objected, that, howsoever efficacious *frank pledge* was *in former times*, when England was less populous, yet it could not at all be applicable to the *present* overgrown state of the

metropolis; but the objection is superficial, and without foundation, occasioned merely by those gentlemen having connected their ideas of *tithings* and *hundreds* with *local* situations (a mere *corruption* of the system), instead of the *persons* of the *house-keepers*, or *deciners*, to whom alone the terms of *tithings* and *hundreds* are properly applicable, so that the *increase* or *decrease* of cities and districts makes not the least difference in the efficacy of the system; because the civil officers and courts in every district (if the system is duly maintained), will be always in exact proportion to the *number* of the *house-holders*, whether they are more or less; and though men are at present, perhaps, more dissolute, if possible, than formerly, yet, the undue influence and corruption of *government* and civil *polity* have manifestly occasioned this unhappy degeneracy in the people. But as men have not changed their *nature*—as *man* is still *man*—doubtless the *same remedy* will be as efficacious now as when Alfred, Arthur, or even Moses himself (p. 3 and 210, to p. 222) first applied it; and that it may certainly be once more deemed "*summa et maxima securitas*", (see p. 6,) if duly revived and *maintained*, or "*wholly kept*", as Magna Charta directs, see p. 98.

The application of the system to great towns and cities, you may see explained in a letter at the end of the book, wherein proofs are given that the laws of the city of London still require *frank pledge* to be maintained. The Dean and Chapter of Westminster are also, by the charter of their privileges (20 Hen. VI.), required to maintain "*in perpetuum*" —"*the use of frank pledge*"—"*usum franci plegii*" (see Stow. p. 918). And all the notorious outrages and tumults of the late election, and present endless *scrutiny* are mere consequences of the *disuse* of frank pledge in Westminster, see p. 41 to 43 and 179.

The want of an index to my book (which I have not yet had leisure to complete), has compelled me to trouble you

with so long a letter, though indeed, with no other design than to save your more valuable time, by referring you to the most material points in question.

I remain with all due respect, Sir,
Your most obedient
And most humble Servant,
GRANVILLE SHARP.

No. XII.

Vol. I., page 348.

A PARABLE.

I will open my mouth in a parable, I will declare the customs of old, which our fathers have told us, that we should not hide them from the children of the generations to come.

A certain city contained much people, and the people of that city had all things needful and to spare, and they were hospitable and valiant; and they were a comely people, and walked erect, and had a countenance that pleased strangers; albeit, when they spake not, they had a proud look.

And in that city every man's house was a castle, and the city was compassed round about with a broad river and a deep, dangerous to pass by reason of the waves thereof, so that the city was an island and very strong.

And every man of that city was a warrior, and had harness, and a sword, and a spear, and other weapons, according to his ability, for by a law of the city, no slave could abide therein; and all who had lands or goods beyond three marks, had shields adorned with gold and very beautiful, and the rest had shields of a plainer fashion.

And on certain days in the year, at the time of every full moon, while the days were longer than the nights, and at the second hour after the rising of the sun, all those that were

able to defend the city came forth into the field *Patria*, in the midst of the city, every man with his harness, with his arms, and with his shield.

And on those days, the windows and house-tops were filled with the aged men and the lads, the women and the young children, and the strangers that were within their gates; to see the armed men and all that they should do.

And two times in every year, as soon as the warriors had assembled in the field *Patria*, they were sworn to armour, the footmen in hundreds, and the horsemen in fifties; and the manner of swearing was on this wise:

When the trumpets sounded, they smote with their weapons upon their sounding shields, and the noise was as the roaring of the sea when there is a storm, and it shook the air by reason of the multitude, and the sound rose to heaven.

And when the chief captain raised his spear towards heaven, and the captains of thousands, and the captains of hundreds, and the captains of fifties, had raised in like manner each captain his spear, the silence of the multitude was as the silence of the sea at rest, when its face resembleth the polished shield of the youthful warrior.

And then spake every captain to his warriors, saying, Raise your right hands to heaven and swear; and every warrior raised his right hand and swore; saying, I will keep whole the law, in which it is written, Thine arms and thy harness thou shalt not sell; neither shalt thou buy the arms of another; these things shall not be lent nor borrowed; neither shall they be given or taken in pledge, nor seized by a creditor in payment of a debt; for thine arms and thy harness are for the hue and cry, and for thy use when cry shall be made for weapons to keep the peace; they are for thy neighbour and thy country, against the robber, and the felon, and the peace-breaker; and for defence against the sudden coming of strange enemies into the land:

As thy neighbour pledgeth thee, so shalt thou pledge thy

neighbour; and as thy country protecteth thee, so shalt thou protect thy country:

And thou shalt be at all times ready, thou and thine arms, and thy harness, at the call of the ruler:

And if thou failest thy country, thy country shall fail thee, and thou shalt be clothed with shame, and shalt be cast out; for whoso selleth or buyeth lawful arms or harness, save the armourers, shall be driven with shame from the land of his fathers, which is a land of freemen, and shall sojourn in sorrow amongst strangers for the space of twenty and four moons; or until he make the greater atonement.

And whoso transgresseth this statute in a smaller manner, shall be cast out amongst strangers, and there sojourn in shame and sorrow for the space of twelve moons; or until he make the lesser atonement.

But when thou art stricken in years, and no longer able to exercise in the field *Patria*, then to thy kindred or to him whom thy soul loveth, mayest thou part with thy harness and thine arms, save thy sword; but thy sword thou shalt not part with until death, for thy sword shall be the badge of thy freedom, and even in thine old age thou shalt not endure to be wholly without arms, for that is the condition of a slave, and a slave, as thou knowest, may not abide in the land.

And when the multitude, even all the warriors, had sworn with a loud voice, there was again a deep silence, as the silence of the night season when all creatures take their repose, and when even the wind moveth not the leaf of the aspen.

And when the chief captain perceived that all were waiting for command, he waved his sword on high; and when he waved his sword, a thousand trumpets of brass sounded for the preparation, and the footmen and the horsemen, and those that managed the engines prepared the exercises of war, one half drawing up against the other half in battle-array.

And when the thousand trumpets of brass sounded for the onset, then the footmen and the horsemen strove with each other, and the engines of war whirled over the field with great violence and terrible to behold: and the old men and the lads rejoiced with great joy, and with continual shouting; but the women and young children had joy mingled with fear.

And when the trumpets sounded a retreat, and the strife was over, every warrior went his way, and hung up his arms and his armour in his own house; and washed for the banquet; and all others likewise departed to their houses to prepare for the banquet.

And when all were ready, the whole people of this city, save the sick and the sucklings and the nurses, and such like, took with them victual, and wine, and garlands, and music, and held a feast in the field *Patria*, with mirth, and singing, and dancing; and when the sun was gone down they feasted until the moon had reached the habitation of *Zephyrus*.

And the women ministered unto the warriors, setting all things before them; and then they sat down with them to the banquet; and the lads partook standing.

And when the lads heard the lutes of the minstrels, and looked on the honoured of their country, the more part of them could not eat, for the desire they had to be warriors, and to wield in the field *Patria* the sword, the spear, and the bossy shield.

And before the chief ruler rose up from the banquet, as the custom was at the going down of the sun, the venerable bard of the harp with the silver strings stood before him and raised to sweetest melody the national song. As he warbled on the deeds of the days of his youth, the old men would say within themselves, O that we were again young, to grasp the glittering spear! Then the heart-touching bard perceiving their thoughts, would soften the strain and address them on this wise:

See in your sons, your country's strength, the stedfast pillars of her state ; and in your daughters fair, the pearls that give it loveliness supreme.

Now tears of joy would wet their aged cheeks, and with the mounting notes of the harp with the silver strings, their thanks and their prayers would ascend to heaven, for sons and daughters worthy of such praise. And this feast of the warriors was called the Feast of Arms and Freedom.

And this city had commerce with all nations, and much renown : and strangers delighted to behold this city and this people; and they continually came and continually went, and many sojourned.

And after certain days it came to pass that the rulers of this city said unto the people, Why need ye undergo the toils of the field *Patria*, at every full moon while the days are longer than the nights ? Are ye not expert warriors, and is not your city an island encircled with a river on which ye have ships in abundance, and galleys of war ?

It is not needful that ye should toil any more under arms of steel, or sweat under harness of iron, for ye are wealthy, and for money can hire gladiators to guard the city, and to exercise in the field *Patria*, while ye enjoy the banquet and the feast.

And the people of this city listened to the counsel of their rulers ; and so the rulers hired gladiators, and made them guards of the chief ruler and guards of the city, and from that day the rulers and the captains sware not the warriors to armour, and the exercises of war were neglected ; so that shortly afterwards none but the hired gladiators exercised in the field *Patria*.

And the chief ruler builded a lofty house to overlook the city, and he called it the citadel ; and the walls thereof were strong, and it was compassed round about with a rampire and a moat, and had gates of iron ; and this house he stored with munitions of war.

And the rulers again spake unto the people and said, Now

honour your chief ruler and make an offering unto him, to adorn the house that he hath builded; let every man's sword and every man's spear be hung up in the house of the chief ruler that he hath builded, called the citadel, that it may be a glorious house; for, seeing ye have now gladiators for guards of the city, ye have no need of swords and spears. And the people, thinking their swords and their spears were become useless, did according to the words of the rulers.

And when the rulers had hung up in the house of the chief ruler, the swords and the spears, they shewed the people the splendour of the house, and said, But the shields are wanting to the glory of the house; we will send for the shields also. And they sent for the shields and took them.

And they again said unto the people, Ye have much wealth both within the city and without, we will therefore hire more gladiators for its defence, and to be your protectors. And they hired gladiators in great numbers; and gave them food, and raiment, and dwellings, and arms and harness, and they took of the people's substance to defray the expense.

And the rulers now having so many gladiators at their command, many times vexed other cities, and brought war upon their own city; and they continually increased the number of the gladiators; and these wars impoverished the people, and the maintenance of the gladiators became very burthensome.

And the rulers made their own kinsmen and servants captains of the gladiators, captains of fifties, captains of hundreds, and captains of thousands; and the son of the chief ruler made they captain over all.

And as the people began to be discontented, the rulers, not liking to have the wisdom of their counsels brought in question, contrived to fill the hall, called the hall of speech, with their kindred, and stewards, and menial servants, and with the captains of the gladiators by land, and the gladia-

tors by sea, and with many scriveners and base persons, with whom they had much traffic for the munitions of war, and to whom they gave great wealth out of the substance of the people.

And so, in the hall of speech, the rulers had evermore great praise, even when their counsels were not wise.

And the rulers of this city did oft times much greater evil than they intended; for shallow counsel is like the labour of the unskilful worker in brass, who stoppeth one hole and maketh five, and in stopping the five maketh fifty.

And it came to pass, that although the lands of this people were fruitful, and they had commerce with all nations, and were expert in making all manner of things good for merchandize, and excelled all other nations in knowledge and diligence, yet were they burthened with debts and with taxes beyond any other people, whether Pagan, Mahomedan, or Christian.

And so much of every man's land as was equivalent to a temporary tax upon the whole, the rulers called the land of the state, and they sold it, and quickly spent the money upon the gladiators; for the gladiators had just said unto the rulers, Ye shall double our wages: And they had doubled them: and then the rulers again taxed the land that remained.

And because at one season the rulers thought their doings were not well-pleasing to the people, fearing their opinions, and the freedom of their speech, they took from the people the law itself; so that any one whom a ruler should fear, or envy, or dislike, might be cast into prison, and lie there without redress.

But in one thing these rulers did wisely; for they prevailed in the hall of speech in obtaining a law to indemnify themselves, for taking away the law from the people, and for casting into prison, and evil entreating such as had become objects of their displeasure.

And after certain days it came to pass, that a mighty na-

tion, a great and terrible, came up against this people, and camped before this city, and beleaguered it round about, and made proclamation, saying, This city hath offended the great nation, and it is come up to take vengeance; one stone of this city shall not be left upon another; the city shall be no more; but in the place of it shall rise up a smoke and a stink.

And behold, the people of this city now perceived that they were disarmed; and that the gladiators, although they should be more in number, than all the lands, and all the merchandize, and all the money of the citizens could maintain, could not defend the city; and the people were greatly ashamed; even as our first parents were ashamed, when they had sinned, and perceived that they were naked.

And the people said, Our fathers of the middle time did amiss in following the counsel of the rulers, in ceasing to exercise in the field *Patria*, and great was their folly in hanging up their swords, and their spears, and their shields, in the house of the chief ruler, for every man's arms and harness ought to be in his own house; and this generation also hath done amiss in following the evil example of our fathers of the middle time.

And in those days there was a ruler, the keeper of the treasury, a meek man, and next in authority to the chief ruler, who gave counsel, saying:

The people are a valiant people, and will disdain to submit to the nation that is come up against them, to spoil them, and to take away their property, their rights and independence.

Let all therefore enrol themselves for this war; that the chief ruler may select such and so many as he shall think expedient for defending the city; and the chief ruler will lend them arms and harness which hang up in his house called the citadel; and when the war is over, the arms and the harness shall again be brought back, and be hung up for the glory of the chief ruler.

And the people assembled in their districts, and they communed together, and when they saw how their city was insulted by the nation that had camped before it, they were wroth: and the spirit of their fathers was kindled within them.

And there stood up in the midst of them a man full of years and experience; and he said unto them, Countrymen and brethren, if ye will hearken unto my speech, and give ear unto the words of my mouth, I will declare unto you the law of your city, and what were the customs before the middle time, even in the times of old, when every man was a warrior, and practised the exercises of war in the field *Patria;* so that, as soon as an enemy could appear before the gates, the people, from one end of the city to the other, were at all times ready for the battle.

And the people said, We will hearken unto thy speech, and we will give ear unto the words of thy mouth, while thou declarest unto us the law, and what were the customs of our fathers; speak on; for it is our desire to be warriors, and to exercise regularly in the field *Patria*, that, in time to come, we may be ever ready before an enemy arriveth at our gates, that our city may never more be disgraced by having a nation great and terrible camped before her gates, and her people not in readiness for the battle; for lo, we have no arms, and all the exercises of war we have to learn, for we are ignorant of them; but the nation that is come up against us is an armed nation, and full of experience and skill in all things appertaining to war, and is ever ready for the battle.

And the man full of years and experience spake on, saying, The counsel of the ruler who keepeth the treasury is in part good; I would that in all things it had been wise and just; for it is happy for any people, when their rulers are guided by wisdom and justice, and when there is no need of the counsels of private men.

Ye know, countrymen and brethren, that we have two kinds of law; one ordereth what is expedient, but the other

only declareth what is right; ye know also, that as expediency changeth according to circumstances, so the law of expediency may be changed also; but as rectitude changeth not, for God and nature are ever the same, so the law which declareth what is right, can never be changed nor taken away.

We have therefore, at this day, the same law touching the duty of bearing arms, and the duty also of being practised and skilful, and at all times ready for the defence of our country and its peace, that our fathers had in the times of old, although the rulers of our city in the middle time suffered that law to fall into disuse and forgetfulness, that they might have pretence for hiring gladiators, who should be more subservient to their will than the free citizens.

Study therefore the law of arms as ye shall find it written in the books of the sages; but more especially in the book of him whom our present chief ruler made judge over those who dwell by the river of the east; for was he not a sage versed in all learning, a man full of eloquence, and wisdom, and virtue, and love of his country, and one who revered the law of the land?

When this man had read the law as he found it in the books of the sages of old time, and observed how our fathers and the rulers of the city had not kept the words of the law, to do after all that was written therein; he remembered how Josiah king of Judah, when the book of the Jewish law was found and brought unto him, rent his clothes for grief, saying, "great is the wrath of the Lord that is kindled against us, because our fathers have not hearkened unto the words of this book, to do according to all that is written therein."

So the sage that judged the people of the east, collected into one book, even a little book that thou mayest read in less time than thou canst read the book of Daniel the prophet, all the law of arms as he found it dispersed in the books of the sages before his time, and thou mayest rely on the words of that book.

And in that book he made lamentation, saying, The law hath been disgracefully neglected, and ought to be restored to full vigour and energy.

And it was his desire that the chief ruler, and all the rulers under him, and the inhabitants of the city, and the priests and the people great and small, should assemble in the field *Patria*, and that a herald of the chief ruler should read in their ears all the words of the book that he had written; for he greatly loved his country, and devoutly revered the law of the land.

Now when ye shall read the law of arms in this book, ye shall perceive that the ruler who keepeth the treasury, how great soever may be his desire that the people be armed for defending the city, and giving thereunto permanent peace and security, hath not as yet much understanding in these matters.

For, according to that part of our law which changeth not, nor can be taken away, (and which our forefathers of old time wisely strengthened by an oath taken unto the Lord two times in every year,) no man of our nation can be a borrower of arms, neither can a ruler be a lender thereof, without breaking the law.

Wherefore the keeper of the treasury had spoken more wisely, had he said, Every man who hath ability shall buy himself arms and harness, but to the poorer sort they shall be given; and all shall be supplied out of the house of the chief ruler called the citadel, because all the arms and harness therein have been bought with the people's money, and have been proved, and may be trusted to in the battle; for unless a man have arms in his own house, and be at all times in readiness at the call of the ruler, to keep the peace, or to drive back the invader, he is not in a condition to perform the duties of a citizen; neither can the rights and independence of the people be maintained, and if a free man were disarmed, he would be dishonoured; for to be without arms is the condition of a slave.

And ye shall know, that if the people shall keep the words of the law, to do after all that is written therein, and shall read in each other's ears all the words of the book of the sage that judged the people of the east, that then that law which hath been "disgracefully neglected shall be restored to full vigour and energy", and although the rulers shall not abound in wisdom, yet the city shall be saved.

And the man full of years and experience ceased to speak; and the people said, one unto another, we like this man's counsel, because he boasteth not of his own wisdom but referreth us unto the antient law of our city, and unto a sage whose name is renowned over the whole earth for learning, and eloquence, and wisdom, and virtue, and for the love of his country, and who revered the law of the land.

And the people departed; and when they had procured from Mawman the book-merchant, the book of the sage who judged the people of the east, they read it in each other's ears, and they did according to all that was written in that book; and they became warriors as their fathers in the old time had been; and they speedily drave away from their gates the great and terrible nation that had camped before them, and they saved their city.

And the debts of that city were then speedily discharged, by reason of the great savings in the hire of gladiators, which had become the chief expense of the city. And when the debts were greatly reduced, the most burthensome of the taxes were remitted, to the great relief and happiness of the people.

No. XIII.

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PARLIAMENTARY REFORM MEETING.

Under the sanction of those whose names are subjoined,

a general meeting of friends to a Reform of the House of Commons, will be holden at on the day of this month, at eleven o'clock in the forenoon, for taking into consideration the best means of promoting a measure equally essential to the independence of the Crown and to the liberties of the people.

N.B. Towards a subscription for defraying the expences, and giving publicity to the proceedings, those gentlemen whose names are distinguished by a †, have subscribed three guineas each.

Subscriptions are received by

Sir J. Throckmorton, Bart. Chairman of the Committee, 81, South Audley Street.

Brookes, S. Treasurer, 110, Strand.
Favell, S. St. Mary Axe.
Langley, L. 103, Edgeware Road.
Miller, S. Skinner Street.
Waithman, R. Fleet Street.
Wishart, J. Coventry Street.

And J. Davies, Secretary, 4, Little Ryder Street, St. James's.

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Atkins, E. M. Esq. Berks.
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Austin, J. T. Esq. Cornwall.
†Barnard, S. Esq. Boston.
†Barnard, W. Esq. Ditto.
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Canning, F. Esq. Warwickshire.
Canning, R. Esq. Worcestershire.
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Carter, John, Esq. Ditto.
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Chamberlayne, W. Esq. Hants.
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†Cochrane, Rt. Hon. Lord. M.P.
Coke, T. W. Esq. M.P. Norfolk.
Collet, R. Esq. Nottinghamshire.
Coombe, H. C. Esq. M.P. London.
Coore, T. Esq. Yorkshire.
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Cradock, Shel. Esq. Ditto.
Cradock, S. jun. Esq. Yorkshire.
Crompton, P. Esq. M.D. Lancashire.
Crompton, A. Esq. Ditto.
Crompton, J. Esq. Middlesex.
Curwen, H. Esq. Cumberland.
Davy, Ald. Norwich.
Deacon, T. Esq. Herts.
Dickinson, C. Berks.
†Disney, Rev. J. D.D. Essex.
Domville, W. Esq. Ald. London.
†Du Cane, P. Esq. Essex.
Duncombe, H. Esq. Yorkshire.
Earle, W. Esq. Lancashire.
†Ellis, J. for the Trustees of the Leeds Cloth Halls, Yorkshire.
Ellis, J. Esq. Westminster.
England, R. Esq. Norfolk.
†Evans, J. Esq. Surrey.
Ewart, W. Esq. Cumberland.
†Favel, S. C. Council, London.
†Fawkes, Wr. Esq. Yorkshire.
Fellowes, J. Esq. Nottingham.
Fleetwood, B. Esq. Monmouthshire.
Fordham, E. K. Esq. Cambridgesh.
Fordham, J. Esq. Ditto.
Foster, J. Esq. Staffordshire.
Fowler, T. Esq. Suffolk.
Gill, W. Esq. near Pepperharrow, Surrey.
Gill, H. S. Esq. Pepperharrow, Surrey.
Glynn, E. J. Esq. Cornwall.
Goodlake, T. Esq. Berks.
Griffinhoofe, B. C. Esq. Middlesex.
Grigby, J. Esq. Suffolk.
Grimston, J. Esq. Yorkshire.
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†Hallet, W. Esq. Berks.
†Hallet, W. jun. Esq. Ditto.
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Honywood, W. P. Esq. Essex.
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Johnson, J. Esq.
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Johnstone, C. P. Esq. Staffordshire.
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Jones, T. Esq. Hants.
Jones, J. Esq. Monmouthshire.
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Knight, R. Esq. M.P. Warwickshire.
Lamb, W. M. Esq. Newcastle.
Lamb, H. Esq. Bpk. Durham.
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Langton, G. Esq. Lincolnshire.
Leech, J. Esq. Surrey.
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Marsh, J. Esq. Ald. Norwich.
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Meynell, T. Esq. Yorkshire.
Middleton, Sir W. Suffolk.
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Monck, T. B. Esq. Berks.
Morley, C. L. Esq. Nottingham.
Moseley, J. Esq. Norfolk.
Neale, J. Esq. Hants.
†Northmore, T. Esq. Devon.
O'Callaghan, Hon. G.
Onley, Rev. Ch. Essex.
Oxford, Earl of, M.P.
Papillon, T. Esq. Kent.
Payne, W. Esq. Yorkshire.
Payne, J. Esq. Ditto.
Pearson, J. Esq. Staffordshire.
Peter, H. Esq. Cornwall.
†Peter, W. Esq. Ditto.
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Phillips, J. Esq. Worcestershire.
Pilkington, W. Esq. Monmouthshire.
Pitchford, J. Esq. Norwich.
Postle, J. Esq. Norfolk.
Postlethwaite, W. Esq. Leicestersh.
Powell, J. H. Esq. Suffolk.
Price, Rose, Esq. Cornwall.
Puller, G. Esq. Westminster.
Quin, E. Esq. C. Council, London.
Rashleigh, J. C. Esq. Cornwall.
Rawson, T. Esq. Yorkshire.
†Reynolds, R. Esq. Huntingdonsh.
Richardson, J. Esq. Liverpool.
Riddell, R. Esq. Northumberland.
Rider, T. Esq. Kent.
Rookwood, R. G. Esq. Suffolk.
Roscoe, W. Esq. Lancashire.
Royle, J. Esq. Canterbury.
Russel, J. Esq. Maidstone.
Savile, Jos. Esq. Essex.
Sayle, B. Esq. Yorkshire.
Sayle, B. Esq. Ditto.
Scott, Rev. R. Portsmouth.
Scroope, S. T. Esq. Yorkshire.
Scudamore, Rd. Philip, M.P. Herefordshire.
Sharp, T. Esq. Portsmouth.
†Sheath, Ch. Esq. Boston.
Shore, S. Esq. Yorkshire.
Shore, J. Esq. Ditto.
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Slaney, R. Esq. Shropshire.
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Southwell, Sig. Tr. Esq. Norfolk.
Spurrier, Chr. Esq. Poole.
Stackhouse, E. W. Esq. Cornwall.
Stephens, Rev. D. Cornwall.
Stevenson, R. Esq. Staffordshire.
Strickland, H. Esq. Yorkshire.
Strutt, W. Esq. Derbyshire.
Strutt, J. Esq. Ditto.
Sturch, W. Esq. Westminster.
†Sykes, Dan. Esq. Yorkshire.
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Taylor, L. Esq. Maidstone.
†Trevanion, J. B. Esq. Cornwall.
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Thompson, C. A. Esq. Ditto.
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†Throckmorton, Sir J. Berks.
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Watt, R. Esq. Yorkshire.
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Western, C. C. Esq. M.P. Essex.
Western, Rev. T. Essex.
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Wharton, J. Esq. M.P. Yorkshire.
Wheble, J. Esq. Berks.
†White, T. Holt, Esq. Essex.
White, H. Esq. Portsmouth.
Wilbraham, G. Esq. Cheshire.

Williams, G. Esq. Liverpool.
Wilson, C. Esq. Yorkshire.
Winniatt, Rev. Reg. Gloucestersh.
†Wishart, T. Esq. Westminster.
Wolferston, S. P. Esq. Staffordshire.
†Wolseley, Sir W. Ditto.
Wolseley, C. Esq. Ditto.

†Wood, M. Esq. Ald. London.
Wood, O. Esq. Manchester.
Wright, A. Esq. Norfolk.
Wright, J. Esq. Yorkshire.
Wycliffe, T. Esq. Ditto.
†Wyville, Rev. Chr. Ditto.
Yate, W. H. Esq. Gloucestershire.

Allen, J. Esq. Bath.
Brown, G. Esq. Lanarkshire.
Bury, F. Esq. Monmouthshire.
Cobbett, W. Esq. Hants.
Dawes, G. Esq. Westminster.
Ewing, W. Esq. Edinburgh.
Ferrie, A. Lanarkshire.
Foote, R. Esq. Kent.
Gillibrand, T. Esq. Lanarkshire.
Gray, W. Esq. Ditto.
Grylls, Rev. R. G. jun. Cornwall.
†Harvey, D. W. Esq. Essex.
Hutchison, J. Esq. Lanarkshire.
Irton, J. Esq. Cumberland.
Jones, W. Esq. London.
Lacey, Rev. R. Yorkshire.
Losh, J. Esq. Cumberland.
Matthews, W. Esq. Somerset.

Ralston, W. H. Esq. Ayrshire.
Ramsay, J. Esq. Lanarkshire.
Russell, J. Esq. Ditto.
Sheddon, W. Esq. Ditto.
Smith, J. Esq. Ditto.
Smith, T. Esq. Ald. London.
Stewart, W. Esq. Lanarkshire.
Stirling, W. Esq. Ditto.
†Thomson, T. Esq. Middlesex.
Thomson, J. sen. Esq. Lanarkshire.
Thomson, J. Esq. Ditto.
Watson, R. Esq. Ditto.
Watson, W. Esq. Ditto.
Weitson, Ad. Esq. Ditto.
Wills, C. Esq. London.
Wills, G. Esq. Ditto.
Wingate, J. Esq. Lanarkshire.

No. XIV.

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SIR,

I HAVE the honour to state to you, that in consequence of more than one hundred assents having been received, a meeting was held of our intended Society of Friends to Parliamentary Reform; when, on an objection taken to its being bound by, or enabled consistently to proceed according to rules formed before it existed, it was, on full debate, admitted that the objection was fatal.

For getting out of the difficulty, and for preventing any loss of time, it was judged the wisest and the shortest way

for those present to form themselves into an association *de novo*, assuming a new appellation to prevent a confusion of denominations, and proceed to business, not doubting but that the assents already given would be readily transferred to the new institution.

Another strong reason for thus proceeding was, that it would be for the interest of the cause to reduce to one-third the necessary annual contribution, the dinners being at the expense of those present, and providing for exertions through the press by a subscription.

Besides which, it was thought that improved rules might be adopted.

An abstract of material proceedings is subjoined; but the rules could not be added, as after having been read on the 17th, they were ordered to stand over for confirmation until the next meeting. It may however be observed, that besides mere provisions for order, regularity, and auditing accounts, &c., they propose an Annual Committee of Consultation, to consist of twelve;—that all writings and books which may be presented to the Union, as well as all its own books, papers, funds, and property, be under the guardianship of the said Committee of Consultation, and all use made of the press be under its superintendence and direction.—N. B. An entire edition of a short pamphlet, on the principles of the Union, of 1000 copies, has already been presented.

It is also proposed that there shall be a general meeting *monthly*, and in February a dinner: and that if in March it shall be thought advisable, the general meeting of that month may convene, for the third Wednesday in April, a general national meeting in the metropolis of friends to the Reform, without limitation.

The word 'Society' being applicable to a vast variety of associations, it was judged politic to adopt the title of Union; especially as the great object of the appeal (hereafter mentioned) is to promote a National Union.

At a meeting held at the Freemasons' Tavern, on Wednesday, 10th June, 1812,

EDWARD BOLTON CLIVE, Esq. IN THE CHAIR,

Resolved unanimously :

I. That an association, denominated the "Union for Parliamentary Reform", according to the constitution, is now established.

II. That the basis or constitution of this Union is expressed in the three following propositions, namely,

1. Representation—the happiest discovery of political wisdom—is the vital principle of the English Constitution, inasmuch as it is *that alone*, which in a state, too extensive for personal legislation, constitutes political liberty.

2. Political Liberty being a common right, *representation* co-extensive with direct *taxation*, ought, with all practicable equality, to be fairly and honestly distributed throughout the community, the facility of which cannot be denied.

3. The *constitutional* duration of a Parliament cannot exceed one year.

Resolved—That the truth of the third proposition in the constitution of this Union is made evident by the following, among other considerations ;

1st. An Englishman, at twenty-one years of age, enters on his *inheritance*, whatever it may be. 2d. " A greater *inheritance* descends to every one of us from right and the laws than from our parents", on which maxim Sir Edward Coke in his 2d Institute remarks, " Right is the best birthright the subject hath ; for thereby his goods, lands, wife, children, his body, life, honour, and estimation are *protected* from wrong." 3d. To no other " Right" than that of a people either personally or representatively, *making their own laws*, whereby they may be " *protected* from wrong", can this remark of Sir Edward Coke possibly apply. 4th. When election is withholden for seven years, then all who came of age since the preceding election, are kept out of

their inheritance and best birthright. 5th. Even supposing the representation of our country were in other respects quite perfect, yet *septennial* parliaments would still deprive the whole nation of its political liberty for *six parts in seven of human life;* and *triennial* parliaments must have a like effect for *two years in every three;* whence it follows that parliaments of any duration exceeding one year, instead of a *protection* from, would be an infliction of "wrong", contrary to the constitution, against right, and destructive of liberty.

Resolved unanimously:

III. That towards the current expenses of this Union each member shall pay only one guinea per year.

IV. That no person holding a pension or place of profit under the Crown shall be a member of this Union.

V. That in the unprecedented and most awful crisis of our country, Major Cartwright be requested to prepare an *Appeal to the Nation*, to be submitted to the general meeting on Wednesday next.

At the meeting on the 17th,

SIR FRANCIS BURDETT, IN THE CHAIR.

Resolved unanimously:

VI. That the rules which have been read, stand over for confirmation until the next meeting.

Resolved unanimously:

VII. That for the "Appeal to the Nation", which has been read, the thanks of the meeting are given to the author.

VIII. That the adoption of the said appeal stand over until the next meeting.

Resolved:

IX. That a subscription be now opened in aid of our original funds, for enabling the Union to extend its services in the cause of Parliamentary Reform, according to the constitution, by means of the press.

Adjourned to Wednesday, the 24th instant.

N. B. For want of time the following was postponed:

That the charges attendant on the exertions of last year not being completely defrayed; a remuneration of Mr. Davis having, through hurry, been omitted; and the subsequent expenses to this time not being quite provided for; the gentlemen now becoming members of this Union, at one guinea a-year, in place of three as was intended, are requested to contribute one pound each, for liquidating all arrears, and putting a small balance in the hands of the treasurer.

Hoping to be favoured with your early determination to transfer your assent to the Union, I have the honour to be with much respect,

Sir, your obedient Servant,

Chairman of the Committee.

Freemasons' Tavern, June 1812.

Adams, W. 159, Drury-lane.
Allen, W.
Bell, H.
Bell, R.
Bell, W.
Barker, John, Great Russell-st. ditto.
Barnard, R.
Barnard, S.
Barnard, W.
Bates, J.
Benson, Thomas, Wreykall, Carlisle.
Birch, Thomas.
Bosville, W.
Brookes, S.
Brown, Timothy.
Burdett, Sir Francis.
Burdett, W. Jones, Stowey-House, Old Down, Somersetshire.
Campbell, C. Surrey-street.
Campbell, J. Worm Leighton, Halifax.
Canning, F.
Cannon, G. Staples-Inn.
Capel, William, 69, Cornhill.
Cartwright, J.
Castley, John.
Chapman, Richard
Chapman, W.
Charrington, T. jun.
Clarke, T. J.
Clive, E. B. Wilford, near Bedford.
Cobbett, W.
Collet, Russell.
Curwen, H. Ryton Grove.
Davy, J.
Dean, Robert, Worm Leighton, Halifax.
Dickenson, Charles.
Doyle, ——, Tavistock-Row, Covent-Garden.
Duncombe, Henry.
Duncombe, Henry.
Ellis, J. 18, James-street, Pimlico.
Fawkes, W.
Gill, W.
Goodbehere, Alderman.
Graves, Admiral.
Graves, S. C.
Griffinhoofe.
Hallet, W.

Hallet, W. jun.
Ham, J. Salisbury-court.
Hancock, John.
Harris, George, 42, Gerrard-st. Soho.
Hawkes.
Houston, G.
Hulme, T. Great Lever.
Hunt, Henry, 16, James-street.
James, C.
Jones, T.
Jones, W. Watling-street.
Langley, E.
Langton, G.
Lochée, John, 38, King-street, Covent Garden.
Long, George, Great Newport-st.
Maclean, Dr.
Marcett, J. Angel row, Hammersmith.
Margrave, T.
Marten, John.
M'Creery.
Metcalfe, C. J. G. Roxton House, near St. Neot's.
Miller, S.
Monck, T. B.
Munnings, J. S.
Nelson, George, Esq.
Nightingale, Rev. Joseph.
Payne, William.
Payne, John.
Pearson, J.
Phillips, Thomas.
Puller, G.
Rawson, T.
Reynolds, Richard.
Rogers, George, 58, High-street, Bloomsbury.
Satchell, S. Timber-merchant, Limehouse.
Sheath, Charles, Boston.
Slade, R.
Spratley, W.
Strutt, J.
Strutt, William.
Thomson, C. A.
Thomson, P.
Thomson, T.
Waddington, F. F.
Walker, P.
Walker, Thomas.
Wardle, G. L.
Watkins, W. B.
Wishart, T.
Wolferston, S. Pipe.
Wolseley, Charles.
Wood, M.

No. XV.

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HAMPDEN CLUB.—MEMBERS' NAMES.

Those marked thus * were the Founders of the Club.

Aislabie, Rev. W. I. Holywell Parsonage, St. Ives, Hunts.
*Alston, R. Esq. Rowney Lodge, Sawbridgeworth, Herts.
Barnard, W. Esq. Boston, Lincolnshire.
*Blount, E. Esq. Bellamore, Staffordshire.

*Blount, G. Esq. Burford, Staffordshire.
Blount, M. jun., Maple Durham, Reading, Berks.
Bosville, W. Esq. Gunthorpe, Yorkshire.
*Brander, J. Esq. Priory, Christchurch, Hampshire.
*Brooksbank, S. Esq. Geddington, Northamptonshire.
*Broughton, Sir T. D. Bart., Ham, Surrey.
*Burdett, Sir F. Bart. M.P. Foremark, Derbyshire.
*Burdett, W. J. Esq. Stowey, Old Down, Somersetshire.
*Burgoyne, M. Esq. Mark Hall, Essex.
Byron, Right Hon. Lord, Albany.
*Canning, F. Esq. Foxcote, Warwickshire.
*Canning, R. Esq. Houndshill, Worcestershire.
*Cartwright, J. Esq. Brothertoft, Lincolnshire.
*Clarke, J. T. Esq. Swakesley, Middlesex.
*Clive, E. B. Esq. Whitfield, Herefordshire.
*Clifford, H. Esq. Lincoln's Inn.
*Clifford, T. Esq. Tixall, Staffordshire.
Cochrane, Right Hon. Lord, M.P. Portman Square.
*Dalrymple, J. Esq.
Deacon, T. Esq. Bury Park, Rickmansworth, Herts.
Dickenson, C. Esq. Farley Hall, near Reading, Berks.
*Disney, Rev. Dr. J. The Hyde, Essex.
*Du Cane, P. Esq. Braxted Lodge, Essex.
Elsee, J. Esq. Chigwell, Essex.
*Fawkes, W. Esq. Farnley Hall, Otley, Yorkshire.
*Fergusson, R. Esq. Fifeshire.
Fitzherbert, T. Esq. Swinnerton, Staffordshire.
Gallini, F. Esq. Yattendon, near Reading, Berks.
*Geary, Sir W. Bart. M.P. Oxon Hoath, Kent.
*Glynn, E. J. Esq. Glynn, Cornwall.
Goodlake, T. Esq. Benham, Wantage, Berks.
*Graves, Rear Admiral R. Hembury Fort, Devonshire.
*Graves, S. C. Esq. Hembury Fort, Devonshire.
Greathead, H. Esq. Uddings, Dorsetshire.
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*Grimstone, J. Esq. Neswick, Yorkshire.
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*Northmore, T. Esq. Cleve, Devonshire.
*O'Callaghan, Hon. G.
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*Perry, J. Esq. Tavistock House, Middlesex.
*Peter, W. Esq. Harlyn, Cornwall.
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*Rowlls, C. Esq. Kingston, Surrey.
Scudamore, R. A. Esq. M.P. Herefordshire.
Sheath, C. Esq. Boston, Lincolnshire.
*Sleat, R. W. Esq. Christchurch, Hampshire.
*Southwell, S. T. Esq. Wroxham, Norfolk.

*Stackhouse, E. Esq. Pendarves, Cornwall.
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Thomson, C. A. Esq. ditto.
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Townsend, H. H. Esq. Busbridge, Surrey.
*Trevanion, J. B. Esq. Caerhays, Cornwall.
Turner, W. Esq. Old Buckenham, Norfolk.
Waithman, R. Esq. Winchmore Hill, Edmonton.
*Wallace, W. Esq. Lasswade, Edinburgh.
*West, J. Esq. Alscot, Warwickshire.
*Wheble, J. Esq. Woodley Lodge, Reading, Berks.
*White, T. Holt, Esq. Chase Lodge, Enfield.
*Wilbraham, G. jun. Esq. Delamere Lodge, Cheshire.
*Williams, W. Esq. Weymouth, Dorsetshire.
*Wolseley, C. Esq. Wolseley Park, Staffordshire.
*Wood, M. Esq. Alderman, London.

No. XVI.

Vol. II., page 203.

INFLAMMATORY PLACARD.

"Evil be to him who evil thinks."

The Queen's friends, whenever and however assembled, will not content themselves with empty professions, but give solid proofs of their zeal, by effectually promoting the subscription for such a service of plate as may be worthy of this noble country; and shew her Majesty's nefarious persecutors that it is not in the power of an infamous government, a corrupt judicature, or bribed majorities of execrable perjurers, suborners of evidence, or malignant conspirators, to shut the hands of the people of England, after they have opened their hearts. Eternal disgrace would be stampt upon the nation if this measure did not thoroughly succeed. Mighty events are probably in the womb of time. Except from the merit-

less accidents of sex and primogeniture, what claim has the King upon the nation which the Queen does not possess in common with him? She as well as he, is only third in generation from one King of England. She is the niece and daughter-in-law of another king; and without preaching any doctrine tending to civil convulsion, the historical truth is undeniable, that England never was greater or happier than in the "golden days of good Queen Bess", and the glorious ones of Queen Anne. Some among the most remorseless of Queen Caroline's enemies might bear in mind, that there is an express act of Parliament which makes it penal to question the right of the nation to limit the succession of the throne. Whilst the wife, with the magnanimity of a Semiramis, is propounding a system that must shortly regenerate this enslaved land, "and crush the tyrant while it rends the chain", the husband is playing the dandy. "Nero fiddled when Rome was burning."

Never will the generous hearts of Englishmen, after the plan has been so promulged of supplying to her Majesty that plate, which, though denied to the niece of George the Third, has been made a boon to her newspaper traducer—never will the public, whose annihilated liberties are sure of resuscitation in the providential instrumentality of this noble-minded princess, (of which, by the way, a recent glorious acquittal even in one of those right arms of tyranny called courts of law, is auspiciously portentous)—never will the British public permit the dishonour to her cause which would be inseparable from failure of the subscription for the plate. Subscriptions continue to be received at the following places, viz.:

Messrs. West, 329, Strand, Wire-worker.
Parr, Russell-street, Covent Garden, Tailor.
Ireland, Holborn Bridge, Hosier.
Cahuac, Blackman-street, Borough, Publisher.
Dennison, West Smithfield, Cutler.
Watling, opposite the Adelphi, Strand, Publisher.
Whittaker, Surrey Coffee-house, Union-street, Borough.
Benbow, 269, Strand, Printer.

Being the original receiving-houses: also by Mrs. Carlile, Fleet-street; and by all the other subsequently added members of the committee.

TRUSTEES:

The Duke of Leinster. Lord William Fitzgerald.
The Earl of Oxford.

And the following Members of Parliament and Gentlemen:

Sir Gerard Noel.
Sir Francis Burdett.
Sir Robert Wilson.
Sir John Newport.
Sir H. Parnell.
Honourable D. Kinnaird.
Alderman Wood.
Peter Moore, Esq.
Joseph Hume, Esq.
John C. Hobhouse, Esq.
Charles Calvert, Esq.
Edward Ellice, Esq.
Major J. Williams.
Alderman Thorpe.
Mr. Sheriff Waithman.

N. B. All friends to the glorious revolutions of Spain, Portugal, Naples, Sicily, and to unburlesqued liberty in England, will not fail to attend the Crown and Anchor dinner on the 2d of October. Sir Robert Wilson, M.P. K.M.T., T. and S. St. G., St. A., and B.E. in the Chair.

A passing word on the general cause.

Even in their festivities, the resisters of the detestable Government which enslaves this once-free nation, should not forget those who are now suffering for their past well-proved virtues in the cause. Scaffolds have been the melancholy lot of some. Others are languishing in chains and dungeons. A few weeks only, unless the nation be roused in time, will see *two more of our foremost champions** "laid in basest bonds" by the corrupt judgment of ermined fiends. A long pull, a strong pull, and a pull altogether may save us all. Let the regenerators of their country discard all petty jealousies; and keep in mind the motto of that brave people, which, by a glorious revolution, cast off a tyrant's sway, and established independence.—

"Concordia res parvæ crescunt, discordia maxumæ dilabuntur."

* The champions here alluded to, were probably Major Cartwright and Mr. Wooler, who, though convicted, had not then received sentence.

No. XVII.

Vol. II., page 242.

A SUGGESTION SUBMITTED TO THE LAWGIVERS OF GREECE.

SECTION I.

1. Whereas the Greek nation, through the organ of its authorized representatives in congresses assembled, did, in successive consultations which were respectively holden at *Epidaurus* in January, 1822, at Corinth in April, 1823, and at Astros in the same year, agree upon, put in writing, and publish a "*Provisional Constitution.*"

2. And whereas, while the collecting more than the final arranging of matter, was of primary consideration, the several congresses were naturally influenced by other modern lawgivers, who, in the framing of written instruments for setting forth the forms of government which they respectively proposed, had all of them, without exception therein, inadvertently blended together constitutional and legal matter.

3. And whereas, on mature reflection, it appears that a *constitution* being, not identical with, but essentially different from, *law;* not being the stream, but the fountain, whence law must flow; therefore a *constitution* ought ever to be kept distinctly, separate, and apart from *law.*

4. And whereas a *constitution* being that in which a state's existence is visibly recognised, it may be esteemed its very life; while *law* being only the occasional expression of what to that life is convenient, it thence follows, that *the constitution is a law to the legislature;* a sacred rule which, in all cases, and on all occasions, it is bound implicitly to obey;—a boundary which it cannot, without criminality, pass.

5. And whereas, should a legislature, in any possible conjuncture, or under any possible pretence, enact a violation, or to any degree, the suspension of a constitution, such an

outrage, on the part of such a legislature, would be a heinous treason; while, in reference to the people, it would be at once a nullity without legal force; a tyranny they would be in duty bound to resist; and a measure in which, without wickedness, they could not participate or acquiesce.

6. And whereas the POLITY of five parts only, now by the Greek nation approved and agreed upon, being unincumbered with aught that is superfluous; while, from its inherent provision for legislation, nought can be wanting; it is thence apparent that the fewness of its elementary principles, being in accordance with the simplicity of Nature, as well as with that which always constitutes the perfection of science, is a proof of such excellence, that a possibility of farther improvement is not reasonably to be imagined.

Wherefore, for the causes assigned, and other abundant reasons not necessary to specify, the confederated states and people of united Greece, humbly attentive to the glory of Almighty God, who created man a social, moral, and responsible being, endowed with reason for discerning good from evil; and with free-will for determining his choice; as well as dutifully tendering the particular welfare and happiness of their country and posterity, do now, through their authorized representatives in council assembled, make known that their "*Provisional Constitution*", hitherto by all public authorities and private persons cheerfully and patriotically conformed to, being hereby repealed and ended, is declared to be no longer in force.

And, in place thereof, the said confederated states and people of united Greece, through their authorized representatives in council assembled, do now, by this their CONSTITUTIONAL ACT AND DEED, finally determine, will, decree, declare and proclaim, the perpetual establishment in and for each commonwealth of their union, one and the same definitive POLITY or CONSTITUTION, as hereafter constitutes the entire subject of the second section of this present instrument, where it is distinctly defined and set forth.

The said POLITY OR CONSTITUTION being framed agreeably to the eternal laws of God and rights of man, it may be expected, that, under the Divine Providence, the inestimable blessings of good government, unimpaired and unendangered, shall, through all time to come, be fully enjoyed, and have assured conservation; that so the unspeakable benefits of a political conduct in the people and their functionaries, which shall be morally correct, as answering to the declared compendium of our holy religion, namely, that we "*obey God and benefit our neighbour*", may, as practical Christianity, conspicuously shine in *Greece;* and in due time, by a diffusion of knowledge, and the resistless force of truth, likewise benefit the human race on a scale the most extended.

And as the Omnipotent is wont to confound the machinations of the proud and mighty of this world, by showing that the race is not always to the swift, nor the battle to the strong; so *Greece*, now raised from her late forlorn condition, is encouraged to hope she may be thought not unworthy to benefit other nations of the earth by her present example.

SECTION II.

THE CONSTITUTION.

ELEMENT I. Those principles of truth and morality, on which political liberty and social order depend.

II. A militia of all men capable of arms-bearing.

III. An assembly of the wise in each separate commonwealth, and a congress of union, elected by the people, for enacting laws.

IV. Grand and petit juries of the people fairly drawn, for applying the laws.

V. A magistracy, elected by the people, for performing all executive duties.

SECTION III.

The sovereign people, through their authorized representatives in council assembled, farther will and decree, that the five several series of *fundamental principles*, for respectively illustrating the five elements of the constitution; that the three *fundamental laws*, for respectively giving practical effect to the theory of the second, third, and fourth elements; and that the seven collections of *admonitory declarations*, for warning future assemblies of the wise and future congresses, against erroneous legislation;—all which principles, laws and declarations are now approved and adopted, be placed at the head of the legal code of each commonwealth, as well as at the head of the legal code of the union.

NOTES.

1. Although the foregoing preamble may, in a *suggestion*, be allowable, most of its arguments may perhaps be more advantageously addressed to the present generation, through some other vehicle; that so, nought might remain but what would *in perpetuo* be a suitable introduction to the national polity.

2. In an actual instrument, the first, second, third and fifth paragraphs might doubtless be omitted; and if the fourth and sixth should be esteemed of more value, the law-givers may still substitute a composition better adapted to their object, while they should attend to the great importance of *brevity*.

3. A constitutional instrument of dignified *brevity* would, doubtless [if printed and framed], become a piece of sacred furniture, a sort of lares, and a family heir-loom, in the dwelling of every Greek; whereby his children, and his children's children, from generation to generation, would be inspired with a reverential attachment to the constitution of his country.

4. The five elements of that constitution as defined in the

second section of the suggested instrument, might likewise be made an inscription, to be borne on the two faces of a current copper coin of small value, which coin might be denominated *a polity*, thus rendering money a circulating medium of constitutional knowledge, as well as of traffic.

5. Perhaps for the word *senate*, in the *provisional*, it might, in a *definitive* constitution, be desirable to substitute a word equivalent to the phrase in the third element of the definition in the second section of the suggested instrument.

6. The word *senate* inevitably recals to the imagination that of Rome, where the *senate* was far from an institution congenial with true freedom; whereas the Saxon word *Wittenagemote*, signifying *The assembly of the Wise*, and who were the annually elected representatives of a free people, may be thought more worthy of imitation.

7. The admonitory declarations spoken of in the third section of the suggested instrument, are as follow:

1st. Against the annual expenditure exceeding the annual resources, as being beyond the *competency* of an annual legislature to enact, and producing one fatal funding system, to be supported by a constant taxation of generations yet unborn.

2d. Against *erroneous* colonization, and its mischievous effects.

3d. Against errors respecting foreign commerce; a thing to be permitted, but not to be patronized on principles leading to corruption and to immoral wars.

4th. Against treaties on false principles, binding a state to favour the ambition and tyranny of despotisms, or preventing the aiding of oppressed nations.

5th. Against the suffering or tolerating hereditary power or privilege, hereditary titles or honours, or rewards.

6th. Against making religion a state-engine for supporting illicit power.

No. XVIII.

Vol. II., page 255.

A PROBLEM.

9th of February, 1824.

How are human beings in their several communities, as one affectionate family, to become indissolubly united, for acquiring the strength necessary to the full establishment of political liberty, in opposition to despotism, upheld as it is by standing armies, standing priesthoods, hereditary nobles, and all the corrupt satellites of arbitrary power; and that despotism having in its hands a discretionary taxation of the people, thus made to furnish the means of their own debasement, and of perpetuating their chains?

AN ANSWER.

The grand fundamental is, an accurate knowledge of the principles of political liberty, for it is agreed that "knowledge is power."

The nature and the means of political liberty must be completely understood. They are, happily, level with the capacities of the multitude, and they as happily lie in a narrow compass.

All minds must be taught to see them in the same light, or there can be no unanimity, nor any effective union of action for rising superior to adverse circumstances; amongst which is not to be forgotten tyranny's leading maxim, "divide to conquer." Mere union is not unanimity. Unanimity is being of one mind. Unions without unanimity are no better than ropes of sand, or castles in the air; or earthly edifices of materials loosely piled without science or cement. Unanimity can only proceed from knowledge.

In geometry and mathematics, demonstrations produce a unanimity which, while it laughs at hostile power, converts the sceptic to a believer. For producing a political unani-

mity, which, in time, shall alike be able to laugh at all that is arbitrary, political liberty must be demonstrated, and its means must be defined. This done, the definition will cause a clear conception of a right system of government, in the form of a polity or constitution which shall include all that is necessary to political liberty, and exclude whatever is superfluous. Here is the *ne plus ultra* in this branch of the science of government. Such a polity may be called the basis on which the superstructure, to be durable, must be erected; or it may be styled the compass for guiding the statesman and the orator*. The present writer, here dispensing with the more metaphysical abstractions, thinks it may suffice to say, that, when a people, collectively or representatively, make their own laws; are universally armed; and when, through fairly-drawn juries, they apply their own laws, such a people are politically free. In those three practical securities centre all that is vital to freedom. Those securities, therefore, need to be well and accurately understood; and the multitude, if honestly dealt with, may be made clearly to comprehend, and rightly to value them.

* * * * * * *

All being pure and genuine, the result will be, a strict unity of form universally applicable; and exhibiting its subject, political liberty, as evidently a common right and inheritance of every people or nation; for to talk of English liberty, and French or Spanish, or Italian, liberty, as different in nature, is contrary to reason. As political liberty, therefore, is a common right, so, to secure it in every state, and every confederacy of states, is a common cause, indicating a common duty.

* The age of vague generalities is passing fast away: before we can obtain what we esteem desirable, we must be able to describe with accuracy what we wish to attain, and abstain from the employment of terms which no two individuals understand in the same sense.—Mr. Moore is a poet, and therefore not a reasoner.—Westminster Review, No. I. p. 21.

Hence it is that we deduce the sole justifications of war, which are only two; namely, first, defence of our own nation's freedom, or, in other words, its liberty and property; and secondly, aiding in defence of any other nation whose liberty and property are invaded or violated. Such are the duties of men to men in their common cause. All other war is robbery, murder and madness.

But, to return to our present argument, the unity or sameness in the forms of constitutions by no means implies a sameness in laws; for, although freedom is the same in all countries, the laws must be different, according to locality, to climate, and to natural productions, as well as to other peculiar circumstances. This shows that in every constitutional instrument, what defines the polity itself, and what relates to the laws, ought to have different places, so as to mark their difference, and to exhibit their essential distinctions.

A perfect polity seems to be expressed and defined in the five elements here following: namely—

1. Those principles of truth and morality on which political liberty and social order depend.
2. A militia of all men capable of arms-bearing.
3. A legislature elected by the people for making laws.
4. Grand and petit juries of the people, fairly drawn for applying the laws.
5. A magistracy elected by the people, for duly performing all executive duties.

In words, the definition might vary; but, to be correct, the meaning must be identically the same. As the Creator, for conferring the infinitely diversified capabilities of man, embracing all sciences and all subjects, hath endowed him with only five senses; so, it should seem, for man's political purposes, the Creator in like manner hath ordained, that five elements of a polity shall suffice.

The foregoing definition being as abstract as popular language will admit, care in the work from which it is a quota-

tion*, hath been taken completely to vindicate each separate element by ample illustration.

Towards an efficacious union of opinion among the several nations, as well as among the people of each, on the common cause, and the common duties respecting freedom, it should seem expedient that, as a simple and intelligible standard, around which all might promptly, simultaneously, and energetically rally and unite, the enlightened patriots, who must be their instructors and their leaders, should adopt one and the same definition for the use of all.

The fugitive, self-exiled survivors of the murdered, and the representatives of the persecuted patriots of France, of Spain, of Portugal, and of Italy, in all which countries it hath been attempted by means of imperfect polities, having mixtures of heterogeneous materials, to build up systems of free government, each of which systems, like the Babel Tower of old, fell ere half finished, burying many of the builders in the ruins—these patriots may now be well prepared for discovering that pure Republicanism in its simplest form, wherein the rays of perfect monarchy, perfect aristocracy, and perfect democracy, agreeably to the foregoing polity and its illustrations, shall, in an all-potent focus, be concentrated, is the only standard around which the founders of free and time-defying states can completely unite in operative opinion and available action.

For, being satisfied that such are the right means to the end in view, have they not before their eyes an exemplification in the magnificent constellation of five-and-twenty sovereign states revolving round a sovereign congress, as so many suns of eternal fire, and light and life, vivifying in all enlightened countries the seed, and cherishing to a full maturity the grand all-shadowing tree of universal freedom? Then shall we not, in the emphatic words of the thirteen original states, which words, when struggling for emancipa-

* The English Constitution Produced and Illustrated, p. 85.

tion, they inscribed under a typical serpent cut in thirteen pieces, now to France, Spain, Portugal, and Italy, exclaim—"Unite or die!"

It is not intended to affirm that the constitutional instruments of all or any of the American States are absolutely perfect, since all of those suns have, in fact, specks of darkness, discernible by the philosophic telescope of the close observer; particularly in blending together constitutions and laws. These specks are not discernible by the unaided eye of an admiring world in general, and by American wisdom may soon be made to disappear.

No. XIX.

Vol. II., page 234.

LINCOLN COUNTY MEETING FOR REFORM.

TO SIR R. HERON, BART. M.P.

London, 19th March, 1823.

DEAR SIR,

FULL twenty years have now elapsed, since you and I were occasionally in the habit of conversing on the subject of parliamentary reform; although I do not recollect, that you ever appeared inclined to come to close quarters in argument.—I advert to these circumstances, because within that period discussion has done more, in demonstrating the principles of political representation, than has yet been done in proving the powers of steam, in enabling vessels, formerly subject to the tyranny of winds, tides and currents, to pass from port to port, within a given number of hours, in defiance of those tyrants.—With regard to the powers of steam, much is probably yet to be discovered; whereas, those principles of representation, which define the means of reforming the Commons House, are now so completely as-

certained, that a man of ordinary education cannot mistake them without exciting astonishment in all who know any thing of the matter.

As to the affected ignorance of the corruptionists, and the pertinacity with which they talk nonsense on this subject, the cause is perfectly well understood; and no man gives them credit for their conduct, on the grounds of their being "honest", which, according to my recollection, was the whimsical but mistaken reason you last year, at the Lincolnshire County Meeting, (according to newspaper report,) gave for some of the parliamentary reformers not having yet agreed on any specific plan for modelling representation.

It is because another county meeting is now called, you being one of the callers, that I now address you, and through you the inhabitants of the county; and I am taught to take the present mode, because of what took place, when I last year attempted to make my sentiments known to the meeting held on the 19th of last April.

In consequence of age and infirmity, disabling me, without extreme inconvenience and hazard to my health, to attend in person, I endeavoured to perform my duty by writing a letter to the chairman, which I requested might be read at the meeting; but that letter was not so read, although I was afterwards informed that it was delivered to your friend the sheriff, and in your presence, prior to that gentleman being called to the chair. If this information were correct, it was within your knowledge that the letter was suppressed.

Considering the ordinary usage and courtesy on such occasions; considering also that the writer had been for forty-six years bestowing no slight or superficial attention to the great question to be argued, it certainly was reasonably to have been thought that the letter might have been otherwise treated: especially when it turned out, that the principl of "universal suffrage, annual parliaments, and election by ballot," which it advocated, were in your speech very point-

edly reprobated, you saying, you "disapproved of the whole of them."

I must here, Sir, charitably suppose, that, although the letter was delivered to your friend the sheriff in your presence, yet that neither yourself nor he had the curiosity to peruse its contents; for I must conclude, that knowing the doctrine it contained, you would not have consented to its suppression; but have allowed that doctrine to have been expressed to the meeting, that so by the force of your reasoning its fallacy might clearly have been proved to the satisfaction of the assembled people.

Such as aforesaid being the doctrine advanced, a doctrine which, forty-seven years ago was maintained in the first of many essays I have published on the subject, and which doctrine an active controversy by first-rate learning and genius, combating such learning and such genius in opponents, has been long established on a rock of truth; it is not my present purpose to criticise the different doctrines which in that county meeting you endeavoured to maintain.

If any there be who desire to know how your sentiments were then criticised, they may be referred to a letter which appeared in Drakard's Paper, May 10, 1822, signed Peregrine Falcon; who seems to have done it in a way likely to satisfy any radical reformer.

My present object is, to observe that the identical doctrine of my suppressed letter, has in all its parts been since adopted as true, by a general meeting of the metropolitan county of Middlesex—the very centre of national illumination! It was not there brought forward under auspices, such as commonly usher to the notice of a county an important question; not a single member of the aristocracy was its patron; nor had it one for a mover, or a supporter in debate. Its introduction was purely democratic, without any means of influencing a single individual to attend in its favour; while, on the contrary, it is known that previous meetings, and consultations of persons in an adverse and powerful interest were

held, and a counteraction, in the form of an amendment, was planned: which amendment was accordingly moved, and was supported by speeches from both the county members, as well as by an eloquent gentleman who sat in the last parliament.

In consequence of the previous meetings and consultations of powerful adversaries, which have been mentioned, it cannot be doubted that many attended who came to the meeting considerably prejudiced against what was to be proposed; yet, notwithstanding all these disadvantages—and though the meeting consisted of only "freeholders", who as among the present monopolists of representation, were under all that influence which, in the bosoms of the unreflecting, is but too prevalent among freeholders against the unrepresented being lifted up to the same level with themselves—against these combined disadvantages, the true principles of reform nevertheless triumphed, and, as the sheriff declared, "by a large majority."

Here then, Sir, is an important precedent set in a general meeting of the metropolitan county—the centre, as already remarked, of national illumination!—That precedent has already been followed by the county of Somerset, and by Birmingham, a town containing a population of nearly a hundred thousand persons.

Hence, Sir, as the county meeting of Lincolnshire is not to consist of freeholders only, but of the inhabitants at large, what may not be augured in favor of the true principles of freedom, provided the people be fairly dealt with, by having both sides of the question impartially set before them—namely, on one hand, "a complete reform, in strict accordance with the constitution"; and on the other hand, "a partial amendment or half measure", leaving plenty of the matter of corruption for future inoculation!

In what is already said, there is, I trust, a sufficient warning against any resolutions or petitions expressly against complete reform, or expressly for any half-measure; and here,

Sir, it may be presumed that one clause in the Middlesex petition will be found worthy of your serious attention. It is the clause which immediately follows the specific statement of the four propositions on which constitutional reform depends, and is in these words :—

" Your petitioners, in thus particularizing what they conceive to be national rights, utterly disclaim any thing so presumptuous and factious, as the setting up, on the present occasion, any mere opinions, conceits, fancies, or projects of their own, for the modelling a parliamentary reform; but, having dutifully submitted their minds and their wills to the voice of truth, to the weight of evidence and to the force of demonstration, the aforesaid four propositions are the conclusions which, whether agreeing or not agreeing with their former opinions or wishes, they feel themselves bound to declare."

There is yet another point I wish to press on your serious reflection. In the present state of positive knowledge in the science of representation, as well as in the present crisis of our country, for deciding its fate as in future it shall be free or enslaved, can it become men who are at once enlightened and honest, to suppress a manly, patriot declaration of the specific measures to be contended for, as essential to national salvation? and in their place to deal out only general, indefinite expressions, which go to nothing, and have no better merit than not grammatically to exclude any of the four measures requisite to a complete reform? seeing that such indefinite language does not ever point to any one measure to be contended for, but leaves the mind at a loss on so cardinal a motive to action and exertion; and consequently without such a stimulus as an ordinary knowledge of human nature, as well as all experience, shows to be sufficient to any important end.

What, Sir, has been obtained in consequence of the indefinite language of the Bill of Rights, which " claimed, demanded, and insisted upon the rights and liberties of the

people of England"? How infinitely more emphatic is this language, than the tame petitions now in fashion, that the Commons House, as now constituted, will, forsooth! "inquire into the state of things, so injurious to themselves, and dangerous to their posterity, and by a steady and effectual reform, to adopt the measures which alone can remedy the evils of which the people complain, and restore that good agreement and perfect sympathy which ought ever to prevail between the House of Commons and the people."

What, it is asked, hath followed even that emphatic, but indefinite declaration of the Bill of Rights, other than constant disappointment for a hundred and thirty-five years; together with innumerable violations of the constitution; perpetual invasions of liberty; and, by means of the accursed funding system with its taxation of unborn generations, threatened confiscation of all property, into an insatiable exchequer? Is not this enough to fill the people with both dread and disgust at vague indefinite words, which are mere delusive blossoms that cannot stand the subsequent blights of the factious spirit in which they put forth, but never fructify?

Can confidence be placed in men, who are studiously silent on rights to which millions know they are entitled? Can patriot exertion be called forth by empty words which indicate no patriotism? Can determination and enthusiasm be inspired by that which chills the heart with suspicion?

Not so is it, when the real golden fruit of true liberty—fruit as delicious as nutritive—is held up to view as the prize to be contended for!—When those specific rights that would put every Englishman, without exception, into full and secure possession of that sacred birth-right, freedom, that inestimable franchise, which is the gift of God, but is withheld by the tyranny of man, is boldly and honestly proposed! And how is the dormant spirit of patriotism awakened, cheered, and animated? When it is seen that the all of the glorious prize is contained within the narrow compass of

four plain, undeniable truths, so simple and so obvious that every human being, learned or unlearned, can perfectly understand them!

These same truths no sooner went forth in the Middlesex petition, than they produced proofs of warm applause from different quarters; and in particular an application for the service of a district, vying with the most distinguished for populousness, intelligence, and public spirit, of a form of petition that should be adapted to the case of the unrepresented: it likewise caused meetings for considering the case of the unrepresented and its legislative remedy, in one of which was voted the form I enclose; and in respect of which I have merely to express a hope that every English gentleman who has hitherto dissented from any proposition which it contains, will first publicly confute such proposition before he publicly proposes aught on the same point that shall be incompatible with the same. Truly sorry that age and infirmity will not allow me to meet you on the 26th*,

I remain, dear Sir,

Sincerely yours,

JOHN CARTWRIGHT.

No. XX.

[The following is the only written copy which was found among Major Cartwright's papers of any of his public speeches. It is conjectured to have been spoken in the year 1808, but as the exact day is not ascertained, it is inserted in the Appendix.]

GENTLEMEN,

I am going to ask a favour that may perhaps surprise you; for I am about to ask you to believe that which is

* It will be seen in Vol. II. p. 234, that Major Cartwright was induced, immediately after writing this letter, to alter his intentions, and to proceed to Lincoln.

contrary to the evidence of your senses. I therefore desire you to believe, that the person you see sitting in the chair of this meeting, is not sitting in that chair. Fancy him, if you please, sitting in his study, summing up the millions of which, under the denomination of Droits of the Admiralty and Droits of the Crown, he believes the country, in violation of an Act of Parliament, to have been defrauded. Or believe that he is taking a solitary survey of the solitary cells in a certain prison, ruminating on the pangs occasioned by false imprisonment, and the cruelties of hardened gaolers. Unless you would rather suppose him preparing a bill for restoring to his country liberty and peace.

Having now disposed of him in one of these ways, I have two or three words to say concerning him. I begin with observing, that, although not yet arrived at the meridian of life, he has attained to one species of wisdom which, in our day, among political characters of any eminence, is as rare as it is valuable. He has discovered the true road to political power, in a country under a free form of government; namely, that of real public confidence. By manifesting an abhorrence of the knavery of faction, by despising the duplicity of party, and proving himself perfectly disinterested, he has acquired a degree of public confidence, superior to that of any other political man of this day; and which, in fact, likewise outweighs the confidence of any entire party in the state.

I believe, Gentlemen, I do not rate this confidence in him too high, when I offer it as my opinion, that, were parliament at this time again dissolved, and were either of the leading parties in the state to select their ablest, their most accomplished, and their most popular individual; were the whole party to attend the person so selected to a Westminster hustings, and there, with all their weight of connexion, of property, and influence of every kind, to recommend and support him, he would not have the smallest chance of success against the man whom you have once pressed into your

service against his desire, and elected from your belief of his inflexible integrity. I call this the right road to political power; and if the person of whom I am speaking shall display a diligence equal to his talents, such will become the influence of his personal character, there is nothing wanting towards the recovery of our constitution, which, in my judgment, he may not achieve.

When I speak of political power, you must not misunderstand me to mean the power of a minister. I simply mean that power which enables a man to do great political good, whether in or out of place. I very well know, that the road to power, of which I speak, is thought by most men, too steep and rugged to be attempted; but nevertheless it is the only sure road. Perhaps, indeed, none will pursue it but men of energetic and elevated minds. Inferior men will be tempted into devious and circuitous paths, and flatter themselves they shall thereby sooner arrive at their journey's end: but when once men quit the straight road of strict fidelity to the constitution, public confidence is shaken, and it continues more and more to fall from them every step they take. It is then they meet with the briars and brambles, the quicksands and quagmires, the pits and the precipices they did not foresee while blinded by the prejudice of party, or seduced by the lures of ambition. Thus circumstanced, they cannot escape the ambushes of court faction: and, having lost the support of the people, they must either become as vile jobbers as any who have preceded them, or they are discarded with contempt, and fall without any public regret.

These observations are general, although I do not affect to exclude from my allusion men who have lately fallen into the error I have described. Some of those persons I am willing to believe have done wrong as much through error of judgment as deficiency of virtue; and though I should be glad to see them totally abandon all the crooked ways of faction and selfishness, and imitate the example of your favorite representative, yet I should not wish to see them mere

partisans of him, any more than of any other leader. Sound principle and sound sense are sufficient bonds of union; and when once like-minded men in any assembly heartily embark in labours for the public good, each will be a leader in turn, as he brings forward any measure on which he has made himself better acquainted with all that relates to it than any of his associates.

But, to say one word more on the want of intrinsic wisdom, which prevents statesmen, who have an ambition to hold the reins of government from keeping steady in the straight, steep, and rugged road of unbending virtue, I shall give it you as my decided opinion, that, had the most considerable men who, in my time, have figured on the political theatre, professing to be patriots and reformers, strictly adhered to that line of conduct, had they perseveringly pushed onward, without turning to the right hand or to the left, neither those of them now living, nor their country, would have been at this time in the situation in which we see them. As individuals, they would have been idolized; as a party, adored; parliament would long since have been reformed, and the constitution, in all particulars, restored; the war we all deplore would never have existed; and, in all probability, the liberty which sprung up in France, would gradually have blessed the remainder of the continent, without the effusion of blood, or the shedding of a tear. Such I take to be the natural effects of genuine political virtue.

Having said a word in praise of your representative, and shewn the happy effects of following his example, I must now, for I think it right to hold even the scales of impartiality, say a word in his dispraise. In his speech on Lord Castlereagh's Local Militia Bill, there was, towards the close of it, a tone of despondency. I hope the voice of his country will soon convince him there is no cause for despondency. Agreeing with him who remarked, that if the English constitution had perished and were forgotten, and its principles should be afterwards collected and made known, it would

again revive as a phœnix from its own ashes, I never can despond, and I never can like to hear tones of despondence from English lips, and least of all from the lips of him who is the hope of his country*.

No. XXI.

[The following just tribute to the memory of Major Cartwright, appeared in print soon after his decease, and was written by the Rev. Thomas Jervis, to whom his character was well known, and who was also connected with his family, that gentleman having married the only daughter of Major Cartwright's first cousin, the late Dr. Disney. It is hardly necessary to add, that the biographer of Jebb was as nearly allied to Major Cartwright by congeniality of sentiment as by the ties of relationship.

It is not surprising that Mr. Jervis should have fallen into an error, which has commonly prevailed respecting Major Cartwright. It has been seen in the preceding work, that he never "relinquished" the naval profession, though he lost the advantages offered by the patronage of Lord Howe—advantages which, falling to the lot of another officer, raised him to that rank and wealth which, but for a rigid sense of duty, would, in all human probability, have been enjoyed by Major Cartwright himself.]

* Since the foregoing pages were in the press, the writer has been informed by a gentleman who was in the habit of witnessing Major Cartwright's exertions in public, that though his delivery was usually cold and deliberate, he was observed on some few occasions to give way to more animated feelings. One of them was when noticing the unjust aspersions thrown on Sir Robert Calder's naval conduct, his indignation, combining probably with the enthusiastic recollections of his own favourite profession, drew from him a burst of impassioned eloquence, which excited the loud and continued plaudits of the assembly.

MAJOR CARTWRIGHT.

There are few men who have been so long known to the public, or whose virtues have so much entitled them to regard, as this distinguished individual. He was the third son of William Cartwright, Esq. of Marnham, in the county of Nottingham. A gentleman by birth and education, as well as by his mild and liberal manners, his correct habits, and his manly and independent sentiments, he occupied a considerable share of public attention during the space of more than half a century. Endowed with a vigorous understanding, matured by reflection, his mind was richly stored with various knowledge and information. As a younger brother, he had been originally destined to the navy; but he soon relinquished that profession, and evinced an early predilection for subjects of political disquisition, which eventually became the leading object of his attention; and, though his active and enterprising spirit was occasionally directed to other pursuits, yet, in the course of a long life, he never relaxed in the ardour of his application to this favorite subject. Engaged in such speculations and inquiries, he cultivated politics as a science; and devoted his time and his talents to this study, as a rational exercise of the understanding, and as the means of being useful in promoting the welfare and happiness of his country. Ever observant of the great events of his time, he cherished a vigilant and jealous regard to the rights of the people. With this important object in view, the cause of parliamentary reform opened to him a wide field of discussion, and employed all the powers and energies of his mind. An able and experienced combatant in the arena of political controversy, he repelled the attacks of his opponents with unshaken firmness and dexterity. His writings in favour of civil and religious liberty, were numerous; and though they were sometimes, perhaps, too speculative and elaborate to be what is termed

popular, in the common acceptation of the word, yet they were, generally speaking, the result of deep thought, and of close research into the nature and origin of the British Constitution, the fundamental principles of legislation and government, and the true grounds of the liberties of the subject. They display great acuteness and ingenuity in detecting abuses, a just discrimination in tracing the artifices of corruption, a fearless intrepidity in exposing the intrigues and struggles of ambition, and in resisting the encroachments of arbitrary power. It cannot be matter of surprise, that the principles so warmly asserted by Major Cartwright*, as the champion of freedom and reform, together with the corresponding consistency of his political conduct, should have rendered him an object of calumny and misrepresentation amongst the advocates of passive obedience and non-resistance, the corrupt and unprincipled votaries of interest, and the determined supporters of absolute power and unrestricted prerogative.

However some might view the principles maintained by Major Cartwright, through the dense medium of prejudice and party-spirit, those who knew his real character, esteemed him an ardent, honest, conscientious patriot, and, as such, long will his memory be held in veneration. He was, as might naturally be expected, deeply interested in the result of the Spanish revolution, and in the misfortunes of those unhappy exiles from their native soil, who sought protection in this country, which has, on various other occasions, afforded an asylum to those who have suffered under the rigours of persecution, or the baneful influences of tyranny and oppression. He especially revered the high and heroic virtues of the brave Riego, that victim of the basest treachery, cruelty, and injustice; while his benevolent and sympathizing nature was sensibly affected by the untimely fate

* Many years ago, Mr. Cartwright held the rank of *Major* in the Nottinghamshire Militia.

of the interesting relict of that illustrious chief, whom she soon followed to the mansions of innocence, purity, and peace, where " they hear not the voice of the oppressor."

To the character of Major Cartwright may be justly applied, what he himself, not long since, observed of another person, with an originality of expression, peculiarly his own, and with an energy and warmth of feeling unimpaired by age—" In his praise, I need not say more, than that he is a true friend to civil and religious liberty ; having a rooted abhorrence of tyranny, and a lively sympathy with all who suffer under its impious cruelties":—after which, he thus proceeds to mention " those relatives of the martyred Riego, who have taken refuge in this country, and bear his honoured name ;—a name which, in the dispensations of Providence, I trust, will prove of no small potency in raising up a moral force, against which, the brute force of despotism, alike offensive to God and man, will not long be able to stand."

In a detail of the political life and labours of Major Cartwright, the character of such a man, while it presents an object of contemplation of no inconsiderable interest to the calm and dispassionate mind, affords also an instructive lesson to every man of observation and reflection. We see one, whose benevolence, simplicity, and purity of intention, are unimpeached ; whose dignified and philosophic mind, with a zeal and ardour paramount to all personal and selfish motives, was wholly devoted to the grave consideration of such measures as might be most condusive to the benefit of his countrymen ; and whose patriotic exertions, in forwarding that important object, yielded to no obstacles, were discouraged by no difficulties, but were pursued with unwearied diligence, and the most steady and determined perseverance, " in season, and out of season, through good report, and evil report."

The differences of opinion, upon questions of policy, which too often divided the friends of freedom, and unhappily disturbed their mutual harmony and cordial co-operation, were

a subject of deep regret to those who had the good of the public really at heart, while they afforded occasion of triumph and exultation to the enemies of reform. Amidst these discordances*, Major Cartwright maintained that entire composure and unruffled serenity of temper, which seemed never to forsake him. We can now only take a melancholy retrospect of the transactions of his time, accompanied with the reflection that, as far as he was concerned, all political contention, animosity, and party-feeling, are buried with him in the tomb, where he now lies " quietly inurned."

In appreciating the merits of this excellent man, we have dwelt only on those points of character which mark him as an example of public virtue unawed by power, and of political integrity uncorrupted by interest or ambition; and we have no hesitation in designating the virtuous and venerable Major Cartwright, as a patriot in the fullest extent of the term—an able, enlightened, sincere, and tried friend to the liberties of his country and of mankind. In truth, he possessed, in an eminent degree, the virtues of a pure and disinterested patriotism.

But, amongst the valuable qualities that adorned his upright and honourable mind, it is impossible to forget, though perhaps it were needless here to record, the private and social virtues that distinguished him as a member of the community, as a husband, a brother, and a friend;—his memory will never cease to be cherished by those who were best

* That Major Cartwright was not insensible to these discordances, though he did not suffer them to abate his zeal, is sufficiently evident from the following passage in a letter to a confidential friend, written in the year 1809. " I have in truth", says he, " been sadly sickened by the despicable emotions of vanity, folly, and presumption with which I have been harassed, and the plentiful disregard of public consequences in the gratification of those base passions; but although I cannot any longer co-operate with those who have so acted, I am as much as ever disposed to promote the great cause of public liberty."—Note by the Editor.

qualified to appreciate his excellence and value in the endearing intercourses of domestic life. This amiable man died, beloved and lamented, at his house in London, on Wednesday, the 23d of September, 1824, having nearly completed the 84th year of his age—" without a struggle or a groan, or any expression of pain during his illness, but what arose from witnessing the affliction of his family."

That his attachment to the great cause of liberty was warm and unabated, and his " ruling passion" still " strong", even in his latest hour, appears by an affectionate farewell address to his friends, as delivered in his own words to a beloved relative, who, with unremitting attention, administered to him the soothing balm of tenderness:—" Say to my friends, that I have never ceased to entertain the most consoling hopes of the ultimate establishment of civil and religious liberty; but to this end, there must be *virtuous* instruments, which, it is to be hoped, the times will supply."

T. J.

October 22, 1824.

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